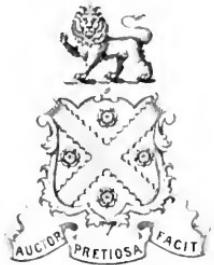


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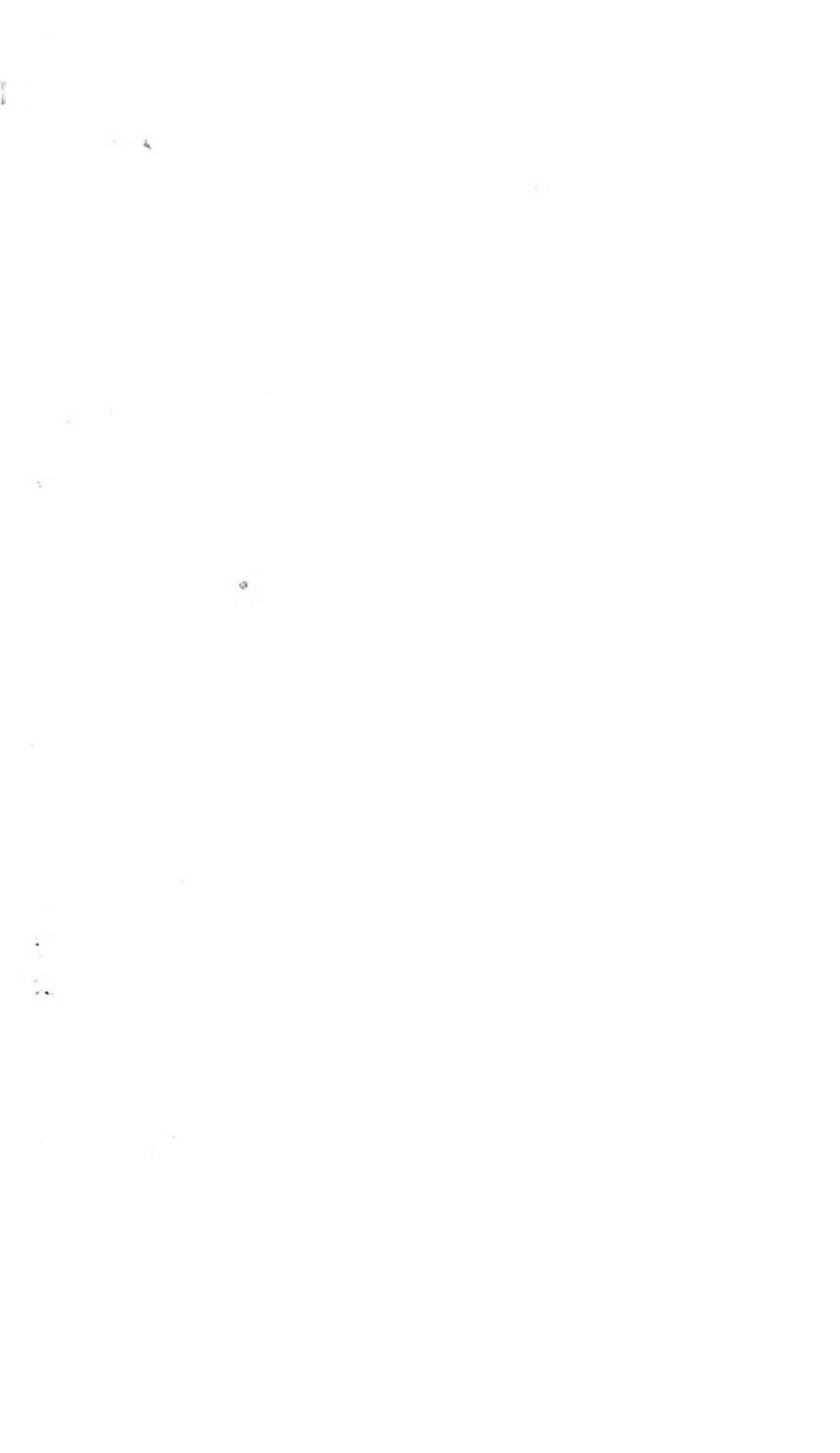
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REMARKS

ON THE

REVIEW OF INCHIQUIN'S LETTERS,

PUBLISHED IN THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW;

ADDRESSED TO

THE EIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE CANNING, ESQUIRE.

BY AN
INHABITANT OF NEW-ENGLAND.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG,
No. 50, CORNHILL.

1815.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS--To wit:
District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the eleventh day of April, A. D. 1815, and in the thirty-ninth year of the independence of the United States of America, **SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG**, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right wherof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, *to wit*:

"Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters, published in the Quarterly Review; addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, Esq.

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, intitled, "An act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act intitled, "An act supplementary to an act, intitled an act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching, Historical and other Prints."

WILLIAM S. SHAW,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.



PREFACE.

WHEN the following Remarks were almost finished, I was informed, that Strictures on the Review of *Inchiquin's Letters* had been just published in *New York*. As I have not read the Work, I can say nothing of its merit: but some of my friends, who had seen it, urged me to finish what I had proposed, and to send it to the press. I have also been told, that some Observations have been published in one of the *Boston* news-papers on the same Review; but have not seen them.

The general subject of these Remarks has become possessed of considerable importance. *Great Britain* and the *United States* are naturally friends; and their friendship to each other cannot fail, if it should exist, of being mutually and extensively beneficial. It has its foundation laid deep in the common origin, language, manners, laws, and religion; and scarcely less deep in the common interests. Its consequences can only be good: an interruption of it can only be mischievous: the destruction of it will be an evil, which cannot be measured. Nor will the injury to the *United States* be greater, so far as human foresight is able to divine, than to *Great Britain*.

I have ever considered those, who on either side of the *Atlantic* have been willing to alienate these nations

from each other, as governed by passion and prejudice, or as acting from ignorance or thoughtlessness. In both countries they have been sufficiently numerous. Here, as writers, they have appeared chiefly in Newspapers. In *Great Britain* they have assumed graver characters. Both the Travellers and the Literary Journalists of that Country have for reasons, which it would be idle to inquire after, and useless to allege, thought it proper to caricature the *Americans*. Their pens have been dipped in gall; and their representations have been, almost merely, a mixture of malevolence and falsehood. As they have been long continued, and very often repeated, it cannot be unkind, or in any sense improper, to examine their character.

A great number of these abusive effusions have been published in *British Reviews*. They began in Sentences, and Paragraphs: they have now become the materials of extended discussion, and indicate with sufficient evidence, a settled hostility against this country.

That *Britons* should feel the common resentment of enemies towards us, during the existence of the present war, is certainly to be expected. But men, whose minds are professedly enlarged with literature and science, are fairly required to know, that what they write is at least probably founded in truth, and to assert nothing which is not well sustained by evidence. To such men prejudice and passion ought, at least during their sober lucubrations, to be strangers. By such

men contempt and sneers ought to be admitted into their writings with reluctance. But in the Reviews, which I have mentioned, the Writers, in their Observations concerning this Country, have uttered little beside the language of contempt and ill nature.

The existing Government of these States has laboured for a long time to alienate its citizens from *Great Britain*, and to attach them to *France*. The attempt has to some extent been blasted, hitherto: but it may be renewed with fresh vigour at no distant period. The only means of rendering it finally successful, of which I can conceive, will be the co-operation of *Britons* with the existing *American* Government in its favourite design. In such a co-operation these Writers have embarked with an ardour, scarcely to have been expected. Few measures could with equal efficacy bring forward such a catastrophe. Their writings are extensively read in this Country; and, wherever they are read, produce a resentment and indignation, not easily forgotten. Very naturally, they are supposed to be the sentiments of the *British* nation; and the supposition easily exhibits every prospect of future conciliation as hopeless, and even the wish for it as idle and childish: for who can rationally desire any connexion either with an individual, or a nation, capable of such sentiments?

The account, given, in the course of this Work, concerning the manner, in which the *British* Reviews are conducted, and concerning the character of the Re-

viewers, will go far towards persuading the people of this Country, that they are not to receive their effusions as being the sentiments of the *British Nation*, but as ebullitions from inmates of the *Fleet*, *King's bench*, and *Newgate*, prisons; or from other base and despicable hirelings, employed to aid the dirty purposes of a dirty bookseller. The Nation has not lost its former nobleness; and Reviewers are not the organs of its will. It still contains a multitude of great, and wise, and good men, who, when the present paroxism is over, will, I trust, act towards us, as such men may be fairly expected to act.

The Review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, as I have been very lately informed, has in this country been attributed to Mr. *Southey*. I can hardly admit the supposition, that a man, possessing the reputation of this gentleman, can have been the author of so unworthy a production. If it is his; I can only say, I regret it, for the sake of human nature.

The attention paid in the course of these Remarks to Mr. *Jeffrey*, the Conductor of the *Edinburgh Review*, has been abundantly merited by the indecent sneers, and slanders, issued in that Journal concerning the inhabitants of the United States. *Scotchmen*, and *Scotland*, have been treated here with every expression of good will; and we deserve from them nothing, but to be “paid in kind.” But in a Work, which from the beginning has either openly, or insidiously, been hostile to good Government, and Christianity, who, not

destitute of Common Sense, can expect any thing, which is just, or honourable. As to Mr. *Jeffrey* himself, the civilities, which he received here, turned his head; and have been requited only with insolence. Nothing better could rationally have been expected from a man, who had wickedness enough to go into the field, in order to gain the reputation of a duellist, and baseness enough to agree beforehand with his miserable antagonist to fight with powder only. The *Edinburgh Review* sometimes exhibits superior talents; but, as a whole, it is a nuisance to the world.

It is time that the people of this country should begin to estimate the foreigners, who visit it, more justly. Nine, out of ten, so far as their observations are published, are mere common slanderers; and appear to cross the ocean for little else than to bely us, as soon as they leave our shores. If they dislike our country and its inhabitants, let them stay at home. We shall not molest them. Here they claim, and receive, an attention, due only to persons of worth; and then repay our civilities with contempt and abuse. It is sufficiently painful to be ill-treated by men of respectability; but to be subjected to the heels, and the braying of such creatures, as *Janson*, *Ashe*, and *Parkinson*; and that, in a sense voluntarily, is to be humbled indeed. It is to be hoped, that *Americans*, before they again open their houses, and their hearts, for the reception of foreign stragglers, will demand some evidence, that they are not scoundrels. Every worthy man, from

every country, I would welcome; and wish my countrymen to welcome, to every good office. But it is time, that we should begin to select from so corrupt a mass, such parts, as are at least not putrid.

If we can be connected with *Great Britain* on terms of mutual good will, and mutual respect; I shall hail the connexion with the most sincere pleasure; but, if the people of that country are only to regard us with malignity and contempt, and to treat us with abuse and slander; the sooner, and the farther, we are separated, the better.

Feb. 1, 1815.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison,	14
The War,	15
Honourable character of the British Nation,	16
Conduct of the War,	17
Comparison of British and American Rulers,	21
Congress compared with the British Parliament,	27
American Elections,	29
English Elections,	32
New England Elections,	37
English Electioneering,	38
Talents in the House of Commons,	40
Matthew Lyon,	41
Duels,	42
Courts of Justice,	44
Toleration,	45
Justices of the Peace,	47
Miranda,	ib.
Professional education of Lawyers, of Physicians,	48
English Lawyers,	ib.
Stealing,	49
Separation of the church from the State and its consequences,	50
Fanaticism of England,	52
Education of young men for the ministry in America,	53
In England,	56
Character of the English Clergy,	64
Of the American Clergy,	70
Of American Merchants,	ib.
Of British Merchants,	71
Morals and Manners of the Americans,	72
Landjobbers,	ib.
American rudeness,	73
Taverns,	74
English Taverns,	77
American Women,	79
American Slavery,	80
English,	81
West India,	83
Redemptioners,	85
American intemperance,	87
English intemperance,	88

Gouging,	90
Amusements of the English,	91
Morals of Manchester,	92
of Birmingham,	93
of London,	97
Mediocrity of wealth in America,	101
Genius and Learning of Americans,	106
Barlow's Columbiad,	107
Mac Fingal,	ib.
Dr. Franklin,	103
Dr. Rittenhouse,	109
Hadley's Quadrant,	111
City of Washington,	112
Naval Efforts of the Americans,	113
Debates in Congress,	114
In the British Parliament,	ib.
Lord Lauderdale,	ib.
Lord Stanhope,	116
Sir Gregory Page Turner,	ib.
Lord Stanhope,	118
Mr. Drake, jun.	119
Earl of Abingdon,	121
Morals of Parliament,	123
Lord Cochrane,	124
Decency,	126
John Elwes,	ib.
Lewdness in Great Britain,	128
Edinburgh Review,	129
Conductor of it,	130
Language of the United States,	133
of Great Britain,	140
Account of British Reviews,	144
Remarks on this account,	158
on this abuse of the Americans,	163

REMARKS, &c.

SIR,

YOU are reported, in this country, to have instituted, and to controul, a literary journal, published in *London*, under the title of *The Quarterly Review*. Whether the report is just, or not, I am unable to determine. If it is just; the following observations are intentionally directed to you. If not; the proper application of them will be made to some other person, probably unknown to the public as the principal patron.

In the twentieth number of this work, Art. 11th, is a review of a production, styled "*Inchiquin the Jesuit's Letters, during a late residence in the United States of America.*" The title you consider, and I presume justly, as fictitious; and attribute the work to a *Philadelphian*, named *Ingersoll*. There is a man of this name in that city, whom the inhabitants, in one of those fits of delirium, which often seize upon large cities, sent as their Representative to Congress. Here he rendered himself in a very short time both odious and contemptible; and received such a flagellation from the Hon. *Mr. Stockton*. of *New Jersey*, as neither he nor his countrymen will soon forget: a flagellation, you will permit me to add, (since you are so ready to accuse us of manual violence,) administered, not with the hand, but with the tongue. That this silly man may have written the book, of which you speak; and that it may be a very silly book; I am not disposed to question. As the only knowledge of it, which I possess, is derived from this review, I am not

warranted to contradict any assertions concerning it, which are made by the reviewer. Had your strictures been confined to *Inchiquin's Letters*; you would never have heard from me.

In an early part of this paper you inform us, that the book has suggested to you, that "it might not be uninstructive, or unamusing to enquire a little into the character of the people, whom its Government are thus endeavouring to inflame into unextinguishable hatred against us, and whom we are so desirous of conciliating." "In doing this," you tell us, "we do not profess to take *Inchiquin* for our only guide; but shall avail ourselves of many partial, and scattered, hints towards a correct portrait of the people of the United States, which are to be found in the works of their own artists, as well as in those of foreigners, who have preceded this jesuitical author." This is a task, upon which you have entered pretty extensively heretofore; and which has been assumed by several other literary journalists of *Great Britain*. The spirit, with which it has been executed, has been the same: and it may be asserted without the least fear of well founded contradiction, that it is the very spirit, which you censure with so much severity; equally causeless; equally malignant; equally dishonourable to him, by whom it is cherished.

There are two subjects, on which you have remarked extensively, and about which I shall give myself little concern. These are *the characters*, and *the administrations*, of *Mr. Jefferson* and *Mr. Madison*. I am a federalist, and a *New Englander*; a *Yankee*, as a multitude of your countrymen choose to style us, with the same gentlemanly spirit, with which they call the *French* frog-eaters; the *Italians*, fiddlers; and the

Russians, bears; with which they see nothing in the *Scotch*, but dirt and the itch; in the *Irish*, nothing but bulls, and lies; and in the *Dutch*, nothing but smoaking, cheating, and stupidity; with which *Dr. Clarke*, otherwise a worthy man, and plainly possessed of respectable talents, declares, that every *Russian*, whom he met, was a rogue; that both sexes in that country, and those even of high rank, are encrusted with filth, and covered with vermin.

There is not, I presume, an *Englishman*, who regards the character, and politics, of *Mr. Jefferson*, and *Mr. Madison*, with less approbation than myself. The former I consider as a cunning, the latter as a weak, man; and both, as hollow in their professions, insincere in their declarations, disposed without reluctance to sacrifice their country to the acquisition, and retention, of power, and actually sacrificing it, so far as they have been able, for the accomplishment of horrid, and despicable purposes. In the progress of their measures I know not one, which wears even the appearance of patriotism, or principle.

The war, existing between *Great Britain* and this country, of which you complain with the best reason, is in my opinion unnatural, impolitic on our part, causeless, and unjust. I do not mean, that you have given us no grounds for complaint. Your Orders in Council were, to say the least, of a very questionable nature; and the treatment, which our commerce has received from you, both before and since that period, is incapable of any vindication. But we, also, had acted in a manner, equally censurable towards you. It is unnecessary, that I should recite the provocations, which we have given you. Suffice it to say, that *France*, to whom with a spirit of drivelling infatuation we at-

tached ourselves, had injured us ten times, where you had done it once; and in a degree, which outran calculation. *Mr. Jefferson*, a *Spaniel* where *Bonaparte* was concerned, and, while he thought himself safe under the imperial and royal protection, growling and bristling in a manner, somewhat formidable, at *Great Britain*, thought, poor man! that *Great Britain* would certainly cease to be an independent nation within twelve months from the date of the treaty concluded by *Messrs. Munroe* and *Pinckney*. This, he himself declared to *Dr. Logan*, was the reason why he rejected that treaty: a reason, for alleging which a child ten years old, if such a child could have been found, who would have alleged it, ought to have been whipped.

At this time the *British* nation was employed, and had for many years been employed, in defending what was left of the liberty, and safety, of the human race; the protestant religion; and the remains of literature, arts, science, civilization, and happiness; from the jaws of the *Corsican Cyclop*. The expense, which she incurred, the bravery of her fleets and armies, the skill and conduct of her officers, the wisdom and firmness of her councils, and the unanimity, patriotism and perseverance, of her inhabitants, outrun all praise; and surpass every preceding example. Blasted be the wishes of the man, who desires to see your nation in any other than prosperous circumstances; and who will not rejoice to see it free, virtuous and happy. The human race are your debtors: and to you, under God, it is owing in a great measure, that the inhabitants of this country are in possession of their own liberty and independence. I say this, because it is true: and not one of my own countrymen, although I am well

aware that many of them will deny the position, will be able to refute it.

In this situation, that the *American Government* should wish success to *Napoleon* was equally a proof of profligacy, and madness. Should he succeed; the only boon, which could be expected for the inhabitants of this country, was to be eaten up last; and the period at which they were to be devoured, was at so small a distance, as to render the postponement of the crisis scarcely a privilege.

This single fact tinctures the war, deeply, with the character of ingratitude. We were neutrals: but we had the same interest in its issue, as if we had been a party. *You* were defending *our* interest; while *we* were opposing it. Heaven blessed you with success: and glory be to the Author of all blessing, that he was pleased to give it in so bountiful a manner.

Far, very far, however, is this from being a complete account of the merits of your countrymen. They have done more to define, and perpetuate, liberty; to form a wise, upright, and stable government; to improve agriculture, arts, and manufactures; to extend learning, and science; and to advance the interests of morality, and religion; than any other nation, ancient or modern. Your judicial system is an exhibition of more wisdom than can be found in the internal police of any spot on the globe. The *British and Foreign Bible Society*, if there were no other monument of your nation to be left, would transmit your character to future generations with a glory, which will expire only with the ages of time.

With the *Conduct of the war*, on our part, I am but little better pleased than with the original declaration. The plan of conquering *Canada* was equally iniqui-

tous, and absurd. The inhabitants of *Upper Canada* were chiefly emigrants from the United States; and left behind them brothers and sisters, parents and children. Those of *Lower Canada* were perfectly friendly to us. Neither of them had done us any wrong. Yet these were the people, who were to undergo the principal sufferings of the war; and no reason could be assigned, at the suggestion of which an upright man would not blush, why we should be willing, that they should suffer at all. The acquisition of *Canada* would have been only injurious to us. To govern it has cost you immense sums. The United States it would have cost much more. To you the possession of *Canada* was safe. Were that country ours; we should be exposed to the discontent, turmoil, and insurrections, of the inhabitants: evils, to which no limits can be foreseen; and the expense of blood, and treasure, which would be necessary to quell, not to say exterminate, them, it would be very difficult to estimate: to omit what is much more important; the immeasurable guilt of bringing the miseries, inseparable from such a process, upon a people, to whom we owe nothing but good will.

Our Government was ill informed, and weak, enough to believe these people their friends: and under this persuasion resolutely attempted, at the commencement of the war, to detach them from their allegiance, and their interests. Alternately, they were threatened, and courted: and the same hand held out to them the torch and the olive branch. The *Canadians* wisely disregarded both; and, unterrified by that preeminent specimen of barbarism, the proclamation of Gen. *Hull*, (dictated for that officer, as I am told he declares, at *Washington*,) adhered to their

interest, and their Sovereign. Since that period we have done what was in our power to alienate them still further, and, it must be acknowledged, have been eminently successful. They now hate us as cordially, as we can desire; and, it is to be hoped, that even the unsusceptible mind of *Mr. Madison*, illustrious as he is for pertinacity, has already, or will soon, become a convert to this opinion. If not, let him send *Gen. Peter B. Porter* on two or three more Indian excursions into that country; and all the difficulties in the way of his conversion will vanish.

Gen. Hull, who was sent at the commencement of the war to subdue Upper *Canada*, and who had acquired an honourable character as a field officer in the *American Revolution*, particularly in the resistance made to *Gen. Burgoyne*, was hurried off to *Detroit* with an expedition, which indicated, that his employers supposed he had nothing to do, after his arrival, but to say "*Veni, vidi, vici*;" and the work would be done. He found at *Detroit* half an army, half victualled, half clothed, miserably furnished with the means of making war, and with little provision for their own safety, health, or comfort. The disastrous issue of the enterprise was an equal, and signal, proof of the folly of those, by whom it was originated, and of the justice of God.

A similar character must be given of the succeeding attempts of *Gens. Dearborn, Hampton, and Wilkinson*. An examination of them, here, would be unnecessary and tedious. I shall not, therefore, weary myself with writing, nor you with reading it. It will be enough to say, that by our various expeditions into *Canada* we have lost much, and gained nothing. We have, indeed, inflicted many evils upon *now*.

this we ought to be ashamed; and for it we have been, and hereafter probably may be still more, severely punished. We have destroyed your people; and you, ours. You have boasted of your victories, and so have we of ours; and both, often without any reason. We have burnt your villages; and you have burnt ours. We blew up the parliament house at *Little York*; and you blew up the *American Capitol*, and the President's house, at *Washington*. The destruction was in both cases causeless, and wanton; and both parties exhibited themselves as mere barbarians. Yet I confess, we set you the example. *Sir George Prevost*, however, in a solemn proclamation, published after the destruction of *Buffaloe Creek*, and its environs, declared, that the work of retaliation had been carried sufficiently far. From this time nothing had occurred, which could justify the ravages at *Washington*.

In your attacks upon *us* you have had little more success than we in ours upon you. The bargain has been a losing one on both sides; and the sooner it is terminated, the better. A little common sense, and a little good nature, would easily bring the controversy to a close. But it is questionable whether your government, or ours, will very soon possess enough of either to effectuate so desirable a purpose. That ours will, I confess, I have no expectation.

Your History of the progress of the *American government* is in some respects just, and in some erroneous. If you wish to see the subject correctly stated; you will find it exhibited in a masterly manner by the *Hon. Robert Goodloe Harper*, in an Address to his fellow citizens, assembled at *Annapolis*, to celebrate the victories of the Allies over *Napoleon*. Permit me to recommend this work to you, although it is an Amer-

ican production, and written in a country, which you think a land of barbarism and blunders. It will afford you much useful instruction, which you cannot get elsewhere; and will teach you to write with a better spirit, and in better language. At the same time it will gratify your spleen against one class of the *Americans* by shewing you the unworthy character, and disgraceful conduct, of the leaders of that class; and the base manner, in which they collected, and arranged, their political party. The expectation of being gratified in this respect, will, I hope, induce you to read the book.

The first theme of your censure is made up of our Rulers, and their Administration. On this subject I presume you will hardly demand of me more liberal concessions than those, which I have already made. Let us now turn our eyes to *Great Britain*; and see whether in this respect our character will suffer by a comparison with yours. Mr. *Jefferson* and Mr. *Madison* are, we will suppose, weak men. To the former, indeed, you allow a plausible address, and considerable talents: and it must be acknowledged, that he possesses, in no contemptible degree, the talent, which is styled Cunning. As to talents of any other nature, I will leave him to display and his friends to admit them. Place both these Magistrates as low as you please. Were they weaker men than your *John*, *Stephen*, *Henry III*, *Henry VI*, *Edward II*, *James I*, *Charles II*, and *James II*? Could not as many, and those equally ridiculous and contemptible, things be written, even now, concerning each of these men, as concerning the two *American Chiefs*? Were not both their private conduct, and their public policy, at least

as despicable; *Englishmen* themselves being the Judges.

But “the *American Rulers* are grossly vicious men.” The private deportment of Mr. *Madison* is, I believe, altogether decent, so far as what is commonly styled morality, is concerned. It is true, he makes no pretensions to the character of a religious man. But, I believe, he never swears, gets drunk, frequents the gambling table, nor keeps a mistress. How small, Sir, do you think, is the number of your princes, of whom this could be said with truth? Look back, if you please, upon the list which I have set before you; and tell me how many it contains, who were not blots, and brands, upon the character of man.

You complain, and justly, of the *hypocritical politics, and false professions*, of these Presidents. Mr. *Madison's* hypocrisy is clumsy, and awkward. Mr. *Jefferson's* is adroit, and sits upon him like an accomplishment; and, visible as it always was to men of sense and integrity, has nevertheless satisfied his party, and kept them in order. That of *Charles II*, though he was plainly inferiour to Mr. *Jefferson* in talents, was equally efficacious in controuling the principal men, and the great body, of the *English* nation. Not only did they unite very generally in his profligate and ruinous measures, but addressed him, and spoke of him publicly and privately, in terms of the most exaggerated and fulsome adulation; such as on a modern ear produces effects, very similar to those, which are experienced by the palate, when tasting Ipecacuanha. A few of the distinguished Ministers of your church, and a few illustrious Laymen, opposed the abominable measures of this fiend in human shape; but the rest; your Clergy, Nobles, Parliament, and People; united

together in a vast mob, and followed with a hue and cry of applause this vile man, who was labouring to destroy at once their liberty and their religion.

You complain of *the injustice of our Rulers to Great Britain*. Admit it. Turn your eyes, if you please, upon your own country. Recollect the miseries, which you have brought upon the people of *Hindoostan*, and upon the wretched inhabitants of *Africa*. Follow for a moment your Slave factors, prowling through this unhappy region, like a collection of wolves and tygers, and destroying by the wars, which they kindled, an endless multitude of the inhabitants, for the purpose of selling another endless multitude into hopeless, agonizing bondage; of whom one half perished on the way, and the other became victims, at no distant period, to toil, and torture.

You will tell me, perhaps, that *we* are equally, and even more, interested in this charge than yourselves; that we have not only been active in this infamous traffic, but have bought, and kept, and still keep, these miserable people in bondage. Softly, Sir. Our own share in this business was all begun, and carried on, under your patronage, and controul. When we formed our National Constitution, the States stipulated, in effect, that after the year 1808 the importation of slaves should cease. To this stipulation the slaveholding States were parties: and it was the earliest dereliction of this iniquitous traffic, to which they would consent. Blame them for this part of their conduct as much as you please. I shall feel no inducement to refute the charge. The other States either abolished slavery in their Constitutions at the first moment of their political existence; or exterminat-

ed it by the earliest emancipation, which was in their power. This was particularly true of New England.

You will perhaps reply, that *Great Britain* has performed the same act of justice in a manner still more efficacious. I rejoice in it. The name of *Wilberforce, Sharp, Clarkson*, and their associates, I regard with all the respect, which can be due to mere men; and hail with inexpressible delight the triumph, atchieved by them at the end of a war, of near 20 years, over *Liverpool* slave-dealers, over *West Indian* slave-holders, and over all the phalanx of avarice, barbarity, and oppression. They have erected to themselves a monument of glory, *aere perennius*.

At the same time I remember with no small mortification the hostility, the abuse, the base passions, and the despicable sentiments, which through this long period they were obliged to encounter; not only from the *West Indian* slave-holders, and the *Liverpool* slave-merchants, who, together with their friends, found their way into your Senate, but in many instances, also, from the independent Gentlemen, and even from the Noblemen, of your country. We accomplished the business with much less difficulty; notwithstanding a great part of our Convention, and afterwards of our Congress, was composed of those, whose property consisted extensively in slaves.

In *Hindoostan* your public conduct was for a long period, and until very lately, so oppressive to the miserable inhabitants, that persons of the first distinction in *Great Britain* branded it with the deepest shame. You have begun a reformation, at which every good man rejoices. Our conduct toward the *Aborigines* of our country, though scandalous, is far from being equally infamous with yours towards the *Hindoos*:

and the name of *Harrison* will go down to posterity with less infamy, than those of *Clive*, and *Sykes*. But, in this respect, you have begun to reform: we have not.

Very unpleasant tales hang upon the private character of *Mr. Jefferson*; but he never sacrificed his own daughter, as *James the 1st.* did the wife of the *Elector Palatine*; nor his own friend, as the same miserable prince did *Sir Walter Raleigh*: and his life, with the utmost enormities attributed to it, cannot be placed by the side of that brute in human shape, *Charles the 2d*. Nor did he more directly, more universally, or more wantonly, sacrifice the interests of the country, which he governed. It has not yet been proved, that he was a pensioner of *France*; nor was his servile dependence on *Bonaparte* so servile as that of *Charles* on *Louis 14th*. Nor is the war, in which we are now involved, more despicable, or more directly injurious to our interests, than the second *Dutch* war, carried on by *Charles* in obedience to *Louis*, was to those of *Great Britain*. *Charles's* whole private life was a mere mass of putrefaction.

While we are on this subject, let me turn your attention for a moment to the behaviour of some of the members of the present reigning Family. Recal to your remembrance for a single moment the story of *Mrs. Fitzherbert*; the present situation of the *Princess of Wales*; the story of “*The Book*;” the history of the *Marchioness of Yarmouth*; and a few other items, of the same unfortunate nature; particularly the whole history of the *Duke of York*. It is enough for me to direct the eye of an *Englishman* to these objects. I shall not insist upon them.

To these, however, I could, as you very easily know, add a terrible list, if I were to go back through the history of your Government. To say nothing of the infernal spirit of *Mary the 1st*, the capricious and brutal violence of her Father, and the enormous avarice of her Grandfather; what do you think of the execution of *Mary, Queen of Scots*, and the barbarous treatment of several of her own subjects, by your “good queen *Bess*.” If the character of rulers is to stamp that of a nation; there are, I fear, very few periods of your history, which will bear an examination. How few of your *Edwards* and *Henrys*, of whom you boast so much, although several of them possessed great talents, were men of even a decent character. Antecedently to the present reigning Family, three or four princes will, I suspect, be all, whom you would choose to name as persons of unblemished reputation.

You cannot but observe, Sir, the tenderness, with which I have treated your country, nor failed to have remarked the contrast, exhibited in it to the brutal Billingsgate, with which you have insulted mine. The facts, which you have alleged, you have drawn almost wholly from British travellers; who, with a few exceptions, have either from ignorance, or dishonesty, or both, so extensively violated truth, as to persuade the inhabitants of this country *to doubt the soundness of all books of travels*. The proverbial language, here, concerning this subject is, “What reason have we to suppose, that other travellers are more honest than these; or that they are better informed? Both their mistakes, and their falsehoods, are innumerable. Their works, instead of being portraits of this country, are caricatures. If they have drawn other countries in the same manner; we know them from these writ-

ings, only as we know the character of a man from the calumnies of his enemies, or the ribaldry of his satirists."

There is, however, another source of error, from which both they and you, take occasion to indulge the love, and the malignity of misrepresentation, with some advantage to yourselves, and gross injustice to us. Your travellers lay hold on a news-paper paragraph, an abusive pamphlet, or a scandalous tale, which they heard recited in conversation; and from one or other of these sources derive some fact, or facts, which have really existed. The facts themselves, in which only one, or a few individuals were concerned, you attribute to classes of men; and derive from them conclusions, which you fasten on the whole *American* people.

With the same equity you seize upon a custom, or characteristic, existing in a greater or less degree in some part of this country, and without qualification attribute it to the inhabitants universally. With equal truth might you ascribe the manners of *Kamschatka* to the people of *St. Petersburg*, and those of the *Cornwall wreckers* to the citizens of *Westminster*. In this manner what is originally true in your details is changed into falsehood; and facts are perverted to the purposes of slander.

Your second attack is made on our *National Legislature*. You sift the character of the Electors, and their Representatives; and inform us from *Peter Porcupine*, (Pray, Sir, did you go to the gaol, in which he lay confined by one of your courts of justice, for libelling your Government, to get this tale from him?) that "in *America* the man of the people is one, who frequents the grog-shops, smokes a cigar, and harangues the po-

ulace with violent abuse of the hostile faction." You then tell us of a man, "who had married a free black-woman in the *West Indies*, had several children by her, robbed and left her, went to the U. S. married another wife, and, "with all these blushing honours thick upon him," was elected a member of the Senate." We have undoubtedly scandalous members in our Congress. "Pray, Sir, what think you of *John Wilkes*, elected into your Parliament by the proud city of *London*; of which you and your countrymen boast in much the same terms with those, in which *Nebuchadnezzar* boasted of Babylon; of *John Wilkes* elected a member of Parliament by the city of *London*; expelled by the House of Commons, and by the same city elected a second time; of *John Wilkes*, who wrote the *Essay on Woman*, a mass of corruption and impiety, such as probably the world never saw before; of *John Wilkes*, elected at the very time when this putrid production came to light, and thus sanctioned and supported, in this stupendous iniquity, by the public voice of that great city? What think you of *Sykes*, who was elected member of your Parliament, after having starved in *India* one million of people by purchasing the rice, on which alone they were to live, and refusing to sell it again till he could obtain the price, put upon it by his own avarice? What think you of *Sir Francis Burdett*, the representative of your polite city of *Westminster*? For his character I need not refer you to the books, whence I have learned it. I refer you to your own knowledge. Now, Sir, permit me to ask, Do you believe, that any scoundrels in the *American* Congress are greater scoundrels than these; or that any Orator of a stump in the Southern States, or any backwoodsman in

Kentucky, Ohio, or Tennessee, ever deserved to be hanged half as many times?

Let me remind you, also, that this custom of haranguing a mob, as means of obtaining an election, is derived from *Great Britain*; that the names of *Fox*, and *Burke*, are enrolled, as well as those of *Wilkes* and *Burdett*, among your field orators; and that although they did not mount a hogshead, or a stump, the difference of the rostrum makes no difference in the practice, to the eye either of morality, or taste; that, although they were probably more eloquent than the *Ciceros* of *Kentucky*, or *Tennessee*, and somewhat more learned; and thus were able, like *Virgil*, "to toss about their dung with an air of majesty;" yet the superiority of their character serves only to display the conduct with more deformity; and that the higher your claims of intelligence and refinement are, the deeper is your disgrace on account of this barbarism. Permit me further to inform you, that this practice has no existence north of *Maryland*.

You observe that "every free man in *America*, aye and *free woman too*, is a voter, and every one is free, who declares himself to be worth fifty pounds;" and, you add, "None thinks of boggling, if required, to swear to this qualification; none more expert at an evasion or equivocation than a citizen of the United States."

These declarations, Sir, are, it must be owned, very candid, and very gentlemanly. Some of them I will examine here: others I shall notice in the sequel. You say that every freeman in *America* is a voter. If you intend, that every man is a voter who is not a slave, the assertion is a falsehood, supremely scandalous to you, because it is hardly possible, that you

should not have known it to be false; and because such ignorance would be scarcely less disgraceful to a man of your political character than the untruth. If you intend, what the word is used to denote in this country, that every man who possesses the right of voting is a voter; the assertion is true: and I congratulate you on the profoundness of the discovery.

But you say "every free-woman in this country is a voter." In the Constitution of *New Jersey*, phraseology, admitted, as I understand, by mere inadvertency, was supposed by some of its inhabitants to give the right of voting to women: and in a very small number of instances,* and within very limited districts, women have acted as voters. This, Sir, is the only foundation on which rests your broad assertion, that every free-woman in *America* is a voter. From a person who sports with truth in this manner, what can be expected, but such a foul mass of falsehood and abuse, as is contained in the Review of the Letters of *Inchiquin*?

The terms on which men are admitted to the elective franchise in this country, are far from according with my own wishes. In some of the States they are better, and in others worse, than in *Great Britain*. In one respect they are immeasurably better. We give the right to men of every description, who possess the personal character, and the pecuniary qualifications, specified by the law. We do not confine the election to *particular trades*, nor to *particular spots of ground*. We have no *Old Sarums*, where one man sends two members to Parliament; and no *Birminghams*, where eighty thousand do not send one. Every

* I know but one instance.

thirty five thousand freeborn inhabitants are empowered to send one member to Congress, and every man in this list, who possesses the personal character, and pecuniary qualifications, required by law, either has, or may at his option have, a right to vote for this member. Now, Sir, we *Americans* believe, that this is a more equitable method of conferring the right of election than that, which is adopted in *Great Britain*. That, as described by a writer,* to whose authority you will not object, is the following. "The House of Commons consists of five hundred and forty eight members; of whom two hundred are elected by seven thousand constituents: so that a majority of these seven thousand without any reasonable title to superior weight or influence in the state, may, under certain circumstances, decide a question against the opinion of as many millions. Or, to place the same object in another point of view: if my estate be situated in one county of the kingdom, I possess the ten thousandth part of a single representative; if in another the thousandth; if in a particular district, I may be one in twenty, who choose two representatives; if in a still more favored spot, I may enjoy the right of appointing two, myself. Or thirdly, to describe the state of national representation as it exists in reality, it may be affirmed, I believe, with truth, that *about one half of the House of Commons obtain their seats in that assembly by the election of the people; the other half by purchase, or by the nomination of single proprietors of great estates.*" This picture, Sir, is deformed: the original cannot be very beautiful. It may be beyond your power to adopt a better mode. It was within ours; and we adopted it.

* Paley's *Mor. Phil.*

Yet you say, "The popular representation in the United States is a great fallacy, and a complete fraud, on the people: and we agree with him, (the Jesuit,) that the *Turkish Constitution*, which calls a leader to his post by acclamation, may just as well be called a popular representation." And do you really believe, Sir, that our representation is not as fair, as that, in which the one half of the representatives obtain their seats by purchase or by the nomination of single proprietors of great estates? I should not have thought that even a Reviewer, accustomed as he is to say every thing, which may gratify the passions and prejudices of himself, and his party, could have said this without recalling, at least for one moment, the blush, so long exiled from his cheeks.

If our people are not as fairly represented as those of *England*, the want of fairness must be derived, not from the principle, but from abuses of it in the practice. That we are guilty of many such abuses, I am not disposed to question.

Read, if you please, Sir, the following account of an election in *Coventry*, in the year 1805; written by a gentleman of more respectability than all your travellers in *America* united. "I had heard much of *English* elections, and thought myself very fortunate in having an opportunity to see the bustle of such an occasion. But I am quite satisfied with one exhibition of the kind; nor do I wish ever to behold another. For never before did I witness such a scene of drunkenness, uproar, and riot. The genius of Mac Fingal, or of Hudibras, alone could convey to you an adequate idea of a state of things, in which was most forcibly exhibited the majesty of the sovereign people, exercising the right of unbiassed suffrage."

"It seems, that the voters at *English* elections do not necessarily reside on the spot; many live in remote towns; and, when the period of election arrives, are transported to the place by the candidates, whose cause they espouse, and are maintained by them free of expense during the contest, which frequently lasts two or three weeks. It is stated in extenuation of this practice, that some of the electors, and especially mechanics and labourers, cannot afford to leave their homes, and pursuits, to travel to a distant county, and remain at their own charge during a contested election; and that, therefore, it is but reasonable, that the candidates should sustain this expense. However plausible this statement may appear, it is certain, that it is only an apology for an indirect species of bribery, not less effectual than the direct giving of money. For under the pretence of maintaining their voters, the candidates buy them with wine, whiskey, and dinners: for he is always the best patriot, who gives the people the most good things."

"The poll was held in a building, which appeared to be the market; and the respective parties were striving, each to prevent the other from getting up to the poll, to give their votes. For this purpose they did not hesitate to use every degree of violence, short of blows. The contest was principally in *pushing*. The two contending parties were arranged in opposition like two armies. When they came up to the poll, the two fronts met; and in every instance a violent contest ensued: hands to hands, face to face, and shoulder to shoulder: and when one party gave way, the other would press tumultuously on till all fell in a promiscuous heap. Then the victorious party rising from off their fallen antagonists, would shout, vociferating

huzzas, throwing their hats into the air, and making it ring with *Mills! Mills!* or *Parry! Parry!* according as one or the other prevailed. In these contests, which appeared to be in the main rather good natured, individuals occasionally kindled into a rage; and bloody noses and torn coats and shirts were usually the consequence I saw one man who had lost half his coat, and half his shirt; and his bleeding back and face were marked with the talons of some rival voter."

Such, Sir, is the description of one of your elections. Were such an one to exist in New England; it would form an æra in our history; would cover with infamy both the electors and the candidates; and so long as it was remembered, would scandalize their posterity. I have lived long in this country; and have never yet known a single shilling given to purchase a vote. That it may have been done in solitary instances, since the æra of Mr. Jefferson's inauguration may be true: but the instances must have been very few. Compare this with the following declaration of the same gentleman. "The parties were very nearly equal in numbers: the contest had already continued several days: and it was thought it would cost *Mr. Parry twenty thousand pounds.*" You will remember, that this is not one of those elections, "which," Dr. Paley informs us, "are obtained by purchase."

But we are not at the end of our progress. The writer goes on: "I know not whether this election is to be regarded as a fair sample of similar things in *England*; but I heard a gentleman say, at *Liverpool*, that these contests sometimes end in blood; that he had seen them on some occasions unpave a whole street; when every window, and lamp, would fly to pieces."

And again: "The mob were all monarchs: for they were all noisy, and all drunk." "The alternate victors, in the intervals of the contests, sung a kind of chorus, with loud acclamations, frantic gestures, and convulsive expressions of joy in their features. The bottle went round merrily over the heads of the populace; and it was amusing enough to see the address, used to get it to the mouth. The crowd was so great, and such the eagerness to seize the bottle, that it was constantly held up at arm's length above the head: and thus it was moved on in the air; one man wresting it from another: and sometimes half a dozen had hold of it at once. At length some one, more resolute than his neighbours, or less drunk than they, would grasp the bottle; and, when with much effort it had acquired a determination towards a particular throat so great was the jostling, and shoving, that the wide-mouthed expectant would sometimes make several unsuccessful attempts to close his lips upon the nozzle; and in the mean time the liquor would be running in streams into his face and bosom."

You should not complain of *American* rudeness: you live in a glass house.

Still we are not at the end of our progress. The same Writer goes on: "Even the softer sex seemed to be inspired with the madness of the occasion. They were to be seen standing on heads of barrels, on the street railings, and wherever else they could find situations a little more elevated, and secure, than the ground: and occasionally they mixed with the crowd, joined in the strife and acclamations, and encouraged their husbands, brothers, and lovers, by reproaches and praises, frowns and applauses, according as the

parties whose cause they favoured, were victorious or defeated."

It seems, Sir, that although *the free women of Coventry* are not *voters*, they esteem it no impropriety to appear at your elections; are seen *standing on heads of barrels* like the *American orators*, whom you mentioned above; that *they climb the street railings*, and take other positions of the like delicate nature; that occasionally they mix with the crowd, join in the strife and acclamations, and encourage their husbands, brothers, and lovers, by reproaches and praises, frowns and applause. Certainly, Sir, you ought to have summoned a little prudence, if not a little truth to your aid before you put this unfortunate declaration upon your paper: "Every free woman in *America* is a voter" *No free woman in America* "stands, Sir, on the head of a barrel; climbs a street railing; mixes with a drunken crowd, over the heads of which a bottle moves on in the air, until one less drunk than his neighbours grasps it, and gives it a determined direction towards his own throat; or, being disappointed, turns the stream into his face and bosom." *Coventry*, Sir, is one of your cities; not a frontier settlement in the wilds of *America*. It is the see of a Bishop. If these are the manners of it's citizens; if this is a *Coventry* election; if such is the conduct of the free women in *Coventry*; what are we to suppose concerning those of your villages?

The *American* free women do not seat themselves in their coaches, (for coaches really exist in this barbarous land, and free women sometimes ride in them,) and ride through the streets of *Philadelphia*, *New York*, or *Boston*, to beg votes for a candidate, as did *the Duchess of Devonshire* through the streets of *Westmin-*

ster to solicit them for the right honourable *Charles J. Fox*: nor, when solicitations fail, *do they present their lily hands, much less their ruby lips to be kissed by a butcher*; as did the same beautiful spouse of one of your prime Nobility. Really, Sir, you should not have meddled with this subject. Let me advise you, the next time you take up the employment of bespattering the people of the *United States*, to let their elections, and their free women, alone.

Permit me now to inform you in what manner elections are conducted in *New England*: the part of the *United States*, with which I am best acquainted. On the morning of an election day the electors assemble either in a church, or a town-house, in the centre of the township, of which they are inhabitants.

The business of the day is sometimes introduced by a sermon, and very often by public prayer. A Moderator is chosen: the votes are given in with strict decency; without a single debate; without noise, or disorder, or drink; and with not a little of the sobriety, seen in religious assemblies. The meeting is then dissolved; the inhabitants retire quietly to their homes, and have neither battles, nor disputes. Pray, Sir, have you any such elections, as these? We have very many. Probably, all are not such: but we have no *Coventry* elections. Nor do I believe, that *a single woman, bond or free, ever appeared at an election in New England* since the colonization of the country. It would be as much, as her character was worth. Indeed, Sir, you should not have meddled with this subject.

But, lest you should think I am not warranted to rely on *American* testimony concerning British transactions, I will present you with a few passages from

a writer of your own. In the 44th Letter of *Espriella*, you will find the following observations.

“*Electioneering*, as they call it, is a game, *at which every kind of deceit seems to be lawful*. On these occasions men, who at other times regard it as a duty to speak truth, and think their honour implicated in their word, *scruple not at asserting the grossest and most impudent falsehoods*, if thereby they can obtain a momentary advantage over the hostile party. A striking instance of this has occurred with respect to the election for *Nottingham*, a considerable town in the middle of *England*, where the contest has been violent, because party spirit has always been carried to a high degree there. Some years ago the mob *ducked those who were most obnoxious to them, and killed some of them in the operation*. This was not forgotten. The opposite party had the ascendancy now, and those who were noted as having been active in this outrageous cruelty were severely handled. In such cases of summary justice the innocent are liable to suffer with the guilty; and the rabble, when they had got the power, abused it. Whoever voted for the obnoxious candidate, *had the skirts of his coat cut off*, and it was well if he escaped without further injury.”

After reciting the false story, told by an advocate of the unsuccessful party, *Espriella* styles it “a pious fraud to answer a party purpose,” and observes, “*On such occasions no frauds pious or impious are scrupled*.”

Again, “*Any thing like election in the plain sense of the word, is unknown in England*. Some seats are private property; that is, the right of voting belongs to a few householders, sometimes not more than half

a dozen; and of course these voters are commanded by the owner of the estate. The fewer they are, the more easily they are managed. Great part of a borough in the west of *England* was consumed some years ago by fire, and the lord of the manor would not suffer the houses to be rebuilt for this reason. It is not uncommon *to see a seat in a certain house advertised for in the public newspapers. In this manner are a majority of the members returned.*"

"In other places, where the number of voters is something greater, so as to be too many for this kind of quiet and absolute controul, the business is more difficult, and sometimes more expensive. The candidate then, instead of paying a settled sum to the lord of the borough, must deal individually with the constituents, *who sell themselves to the highest bidder.* Remember that an oath against bribery is required! *A common mode of evading the letter of the oath, is to lay a wager.* "I will bet so much," says the agent of the candidate, "that you do not vote for us." "Done," says the voter freeman,—goes to the hustings, gives his voice, and returns to receive the money; *not as the price of his suffrage, but as the bet which he has won!!* It is said, that at *Aylesbury a punch bowl full of guineas stood upon the table, in the committee room, and the voters were helped out of it.* The price of voters varies according to their numbers. In some places it is as low as forty shillings, in others, at *Ilchester* for instance, it is thirty pounds. A set of such constituents once waited upon the member whom they had chosen, to request that he would vote against the minister. "D—m you!" was his answer. "What! have not I bought you? And do you think that I will not sell you?"

“A great proportion of the inferior voters are necessarily under the absolute controul of their employers; but *there are always many, who are to be influenced by weighty arguments, applied to the palm of the hand;* and the struggle for these, when the parties happen to be well balanced, leads to a thousand devices. The moment one party can lay hold on a voter of this description, *they endeavour to keep him constantly drunk till the time of the election, and never to lose sight of him.*”

“The qualification for voting differs at different places. At *Bristol* a freeman’s daughter conveys it by marriage. *Women enter into the heat of party even more eagerly than men, and when the mob is more than usually mischievous are sure to be at the head of it.* In one election for that city, which was violently disputed, *it was common for the same woman to marry several men.* The mode of divorce was, that as soon as the ceremony was over, and the parties came out of church, they went into the church yard, and shaking hands over a grave, cried, Now “*death us do part*”—away then went the man to vote, with his new qualification, *and the woman, to qualify another husband at another church.*”

“The house of Commons *has not, and cannot have, its proportion of talents.* Its members are wholly chosen from among persons of great fortune. It is known both at schools and at universities, that the students of the privileged classes are generally remiss in their studies, and inferior in information, for that reason, to their contemporaries; there is therefore less chance for finding a due proportion of knowledge among them.”

"There are two ways in which men of talents, who are not men of fortune, find their way into parliament. The minister sometimes picks out a few promising plants from the university, and forces them in his hotbed. They are chosen so young, that they cannot by any possibility have acquired information to fit them for their situations; they are so flattered by the choice, that they are puffed up with conceit, and so fettered by it, that they must be at the beck of their patron. The other method is *by way of the law*. But men, *who make their way up by legal practice, learn in the course of that practice to disregard right and wrong*, and to consider themselves entirely as pleaders on the one side. They continue to be pleaders, and partisans, in the legislature; and never become statesmen."*

After several very coarse, and false assertions concerning the lawyers, "who," you say, "principally compose the House of Representatives," you tell us *the story of a rencounter between Mr. Griswold and*

* If Mr. Southey is the author of the Review of *Inchiquin's Letters*, the passages, here quoted from *Espriella*, must cover his face with crimson. The Review is principally a comparison of British respectability with American baseness and degradation. Yet here he informs us, that Englishmen regard all kinds of deceit as lawful in electioneering; that they scruple not at asserting the grossest and most impudent falsehoods; that at a *Nottingham* election the mob ducked some, and killed others; that on such occasions no frauds, pious or impious, are scrupled; that any thing like an election in the plain sense of the word is unknown in England; that a Majority of the Members of the House of Commons are returned by the most corrupt influence; that seats in that House are not uncommonly advertised in newspapers; that, although oaths are required of the voters, they are evaded by the grossest means; that votes are publicly bought and sold; and that the House of Commons has not, and cannot have, its proportion of talents.

If these things are true; where is the country, whose elections in a comparison with those of *England* will not become white? What sober man must not suppose the author of these assertions to have been delirious, when attempting such a comparison?

Matthew Lyon. This encounter was disgraceful to our country, and to the Congressional House of Representatives. It was supremely disgraceful to *Lyon*: but it was not disgraceful to *Mr. Griswold*. This I could easily prove to *you*, with all your prejudices against the United States. *Mr. Griswold* is since dead. Few men possess superior talents; and none more noble, honourable, or delicate sentiments, probably in the world: and no man is more respectfully remembered by all, who knew him. The story, told with truth and justice, would be too long to be inserted here: it may perhaps be told hereafter. As it is exhibited in *Ashe's Travels*, it is almost merely a collection of falsehoods.

Lyon was an *Irishman*. It is not strange that an ill-bred man, who comes to this country, should bring with him his ill breeding. That this man was found in the list of National Representatives was owing to the same party spirit, which put Sir *Francis Burdett* into your House of Commons, a man in every respect more unfit for the place than *Matthew Lyon*. Indeed, you do not very often send us men, so respectable, as *Matthew Lyon*; gross and brutal as was this outrage upon decency.

You next attack us on the score of *Duels*. One would think this subject ought not to have been mentioned by a man, *who himself had so lately fought a duel with Lord Castlereagh*, and had thus assumed, to the eye of God and of his own conscience, (if his conscience has an eye left,) the character, and the guilt, of a wilful murderer. You ought, Sir, to have remembered, that Mr. *Pitt* had very lately fought a duel with Mr. *Tierney*; that Mr. *Fox*, the other great man of your nation, fought a duel with Mr. *Adam*,

and that the *Duke of York* fought another with Col. *Lenox*. When duels are fought by the most splendid Orators and Statesmen, of *Great Britain*; nay, at the side of your throne; and when those, who were parties in them, are elevated to the stations of Embassadors and prime Ministers; is it strange that the example should be contagious? Is it not strange, that in the midst of these scenes of assassination, and infamy, a man should be found looking on, and himself a primary Actor, who should yet turn his eye coolly off, to mark the stains of others. Look, Sir, at the encounter between Col. *Montgomery* and Capt. *Mac Namara*: each of whom hazarded, and one of whom lost, his life, to finish a quarrel between two dogs. Look back, Sir, to the duel, fought by Mr. *Anderson* and Mr. *Stephens*, because the one insisted, that a window sash should be shoved up, and the other, that it should be pulled down. Look at the duel between Lord *Camelford* and Mr. *Best*, which issued in the death of the former, and which was produced by the intrigues of a prostitute, who had lived as the mistress of them both. I acknowledge all the guilt, and all the shame, which can attach to my countrymen from duels. Load them with as many imputations, as you please; and I will subjoin, Amen. At the same time, Sir, forget not those of yourself, your statesmen, and your princes: and let the brand be burnt equally deep on your own forehead, theirs, and ours. Until this is done, I think the pot ought to treat the kettle with rather more civility.

In *New England*, before the year 1812, there were eight duels fought: one by two servants of the *Plymouth Company*, within the first year after they landed. one by two *West Indian* youths, who were at school

in *Stratford*, in *Connecticut*; one by two officers of the *American* army in the State of *Rhode Island*: three by young men of *Boston* and the vicinity; one by an officer of the navy and a young man of *Boston*; and one by two citizens of *New York*, who crossed the line into *Connecticut*, in order to avoid the sentence of law in their own State. Thus in 192 years there have been but five duels fought in New England by its own inhabitants. Since the year 1812, it has been said, (whether truly or not I am ignorant,) that one or more duels were fought in the neighbourhood of *New London*, by some of the officers, or the Midshipmen, of the frigates blocked up in the *Thames*. These, also, were strangers. Will *Great Britain* furnish you with an opportunity of telling the same story concerning any part of her territory?

You next attack *our Courts of Justice*; and assert, that our judges are not independent of the Executive power. The assertion is partially just. In *Connecticut*, *Rhode Island*, and *Vermont*, and, I believe, in one or two of the Western States, the judges are dependent, not on the Executive, but the Legislature. So far as this defect extends, it is a very serious one; and is lamented by all the wise and good men of this country. In *Connecticut*, however, the injury, naturally derived from this source, has not been felt.

The judges have been invariably elected until their death, or resignation, except in one or two cases of supposed, or real, misbehaviour; not, indeed, in their official character, but in some transactions aside from their professional business.

In all the other States, the judges are independent; holding their offices during good behaviour, and being secured in their salaries while they continue in office. The salaries, also, are generally ample.

The judges of the United States, (those, to whom you evidently refer,) are appointed by the President and Senate, as you suppose; but their office is holden during good behaviour; and they cannot be removed from it, except by an impeachment, of which the House of Representatives are the authors, and a subsequent condemnation by the Senate. Their "Salaries" also, "are adequate, and permanent, as contended for by *Mr. Hamilton.*" They are, therefore, not "the creatures of the President and Senate." Your information concerning this subject has been erroneous, and your eloquence, lost.

Generally, our Courts are both learned and upright. Some of them, I have no doubt, are defective in both particulars: and a very few of them, I believe to have been scandalously so. In the great body of them the Community confides without suspicion, as well as without complaint.

Permit me to remind you, that your tribunals have not always been unstained. Look if you please at the trial of the seven Bishops; at the tribunal of the Star chamber; at the history of *Jeffries.* We shall not blush at the comparison. How long, Sir, did your nation struggle before its Judges were made independent? *Porcupine* had the same reason to complain of our Courts, as of yours. One of our Courts fined him 5,000 dollars for a libel on *Dr. Rush;* yours, beside fining, imprisoned him for libelling your Government.

That our Courts have at times done injustice, and that our legislatures have at times been oppressive in their laws, is certain. The treatment of the Quakers at *Boston*, and of the Witches at *Danvers*, cannot be vindicated: but if you will look back to the reigns of *Charles II.* and *James II.*, you will find more acts of

injustice done within a little period, than would be done by our Courts and Legislatures in a thousand years, if they were to sustain the same character, which they have sustained hitherto, and were to pursue similar conduct. You ejected, imprisoned, reduced to beggary, and banished, within a small part of this little period, more than two thousand nonconformist Ministers; many of them among the first ornaments of your nation; and that, after his Majesty had thus solemnly said, "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

What think you, Sir, of the conventicle Act? which enacted—that every person above sixteen years of age, present at any meeting under pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is the practice of the church of England, where there are five persons more than the household, shall for the first offence by a Justice of the peace be recorded, and sent to gaol three months, till he pay five pounds; and, for the second offence six months, till he pay ten pounds; and the third time, being convicted by a jury, shall be banished to some of the *American* plantations, excepting *New England, or Virginia.*" The very people, Sir, who were banished by this Act, and by the preceding and succeeding furious measures of your Government, came to *New England*, and planted it at an immense expense of toil, treasure, and blood. At all times they allowed the most absolute toleration to the Episcopilians, the authors of all their sufferings; and, after they became independent, placed the Episcopilians, and all other classes of religious on the same foundation of absolute ecclesiastical liberty with themselves. Were

such a tale, as this, to be found in your history; it would be boasted of by every *Briton* as the glory of his country; as you now boast of the toleration, actually exercised by your Government. To tolerate, is, perhaps, all that you can do: happily, we can do more.

"The justices of the peace," you say, "are not, as with us, respectable country gentlemen. No such character, in fact, is known in *America*." We have no entailed estates in *America*; and no eldest sons, residing upon them, who inherit by law the whole landed property of their fathers: but we have many *gentlemen* residing in our country towns, who are magistrates: men, as much superior to your numerous list of fox hunters, who in your language are country gentlemen, and form a large part of your justices of the peace, as these country gentlemen are to scavengers; superior in intelligence, in knowledge of law, in morals, and in manners. Your country gentlemen have been so often described; and so many Americans have seen them in England; that we are not ignorant of their character, even on this side of the *Atlantic*. As to the scheme of obtaining this office, subjoined to the above quoted declaration; it has no existence, but in your own imagination.

You mention with severity *Mr. Jefferson's interference in the business of Miranda*. With my consent you may say what you please concerning *Mr. Jefferson*; and, when you have done, you may, also, set down by the side of *Miranda*, the expedition to *Copenhagen*; and ask a discreet *Dane*, which of them was the most dishonourable to human nature.

You observe in the following page, that "for any of these callings, (Law, Physic, Surgery, and Divinity,) no preparatory course of study, no testimonial of com-

petency, no kind of examination, no particular qualifications, no diploma or license, are required." You should not have made these assertions, Sir, in this round manner, without better foundation.

In most, and, I believe, in all the States, Lawyers are obliged to study, in some two, and in others three years, before they can be admitted to practice. They then undergo an examination. This I know to be strict in some States: and believe it to be so in others. There are two regular law schools in this country; and the instruction, given in them, is given with a degree of ability, and skill, which would not discredit *England* itself.

There are at least eight Medical Institutions, and if I mistake not, nine, in the Union; in which almost all the physicians are educated. The lectures, read in them, are given by learned and able men. I presume that they are inferior to the similar Institutions of *London* and *Edinburg* *et al.* Still they are useful, and honourable, to the country; as honourable, the date of our colonization being considered, as those of *Great Britain* are to her. No physician, so far as my information extends, is empowered by law, except in two or three of the States, to collect his debts for Medical practice, unless he has been educated in one of these Institutions.

Concerning the education of persons, destined for the Ministry, I shall make some observations hereafter.

We will now, Sir, see the estimation, in which some of the lawyers of your own country are held, at least by one of your Nobility. In the house of Lords, June 17, 1794, Lord *Abingdon* said, "The reform I allude to is that of *those locusts in the law*, the pettifogging attorneys of this country; who, like the locusts

in *Africa*, fall like a cloud upon the earth, and eat up every thing they meet with." Again, "I, as a member of this House, am led to invoke the aid, and to excite the endeavours, of your Lordships in assisting me to stop the progress of this growing evil; the evil of all others, perhaps the very only one in the State, most assuredly the most crying evil in the State, that calls for and requires reform." Again, "The greater, the higher, the richer, you are, the more prone are you to its consequences, and the surer of becoming sooner or later the victims of its all devouring avarice." Once more, "*Hic niger est*, my Lords; but black as this *qui tam* gentleman is, and still blacker could I make him, he is not half so black as those rotten limbs of the law, who have aided and assisted him in this political conspiracy, conducted by pettifogging artifice."

Had my *Lord Abingdon* lived in this country, I am persuaded he would never have made, nor ever have found any reason to make, such lamentations as these. Lawyers in this country, whatever information you may have received concerning them, are an honourable, and liberal-minded, class of men; and are considered by their countrymen as sustaining a very fair and unimpeachable character. Among them there are undoubtedly rogues; resembling those complained of by *Lord Abingdon*: generally they possess a fair reputation.

You tell us a story concerning "a set of fellows, who got into *Parkinson's* garden, and began to pluck the fruit." This *Parkinson*, Sir, has told the world, professedly from *Mr. Jefferson*, that *an acre of wheat in Virginia, yields only two bushels and a half*. Did you believe this story? If you did; you supposed that a *Virginian* farmer ploughed an acre of land, and

then sowed a bushel and a half of wheat, in order to gain another bushel. How long did you imagine, that this profitable agriculture could go on? You knew that this story was a lie; and that the man, who told a lie, in a case so palpable, would lie in every other case, where he found any inducement. Why did you quote from such an authority?

That there are people in *Baltimore*, and in other places, who would take fruit unlawfully, I have not a doubt. In a country, where fruit abounds as it does in this, and where it is often given away in large quantities; and, when it is not, is often, in large quantities also, made the food of swine; it is no unnatural thing for persons in humble life, unpossessed of nice moral feelings, or distinct apprehensions of what Morality demands, to suppose, that they may take fruit, to some extent, without any great offence. In *England*, where fruit is comparatively scarce, and both the law and the landholder hedge it about with great care, it may well be supposed, that such license would be less frequently permitted. At the same time, you hang a man for stealing thirteen pence halfpenny. We value life at a higher price; although your laws have determined, that the life of an *Englishman* is worth only this sum.

Still, thefts are far less common here than they are with you. The business of your Magistrates in preventing and punishing, what you call poaching, is more extensive than that of the whole criminal police of this country; and, unhappily, is the business of a part of your *Clergymen*, as well as of Lay magistrates.

In speaking concerning *the separation of Church and State*, you say, "It is almost needless to add, that this divorce has been productive of a pretty numerous

crop of illegitimate* sects; all equally thriving under the salutary and fostering neglect of the parent State. To recount them would be endless. Presbyterians baptists, methodists, universalists, episcopalians* and congregationalists, quakers and moravians, dunkers and shakers; with a multitude of others, whose names it would be as unprofitable to enumerate, as it would be difficult to assign their characteristic differences of doctrine or disbelief; exhibit all together as satisfactory a view as can be desired, of the fanatical extravagancies, to which the bulk of mankind would be driven by the raptures of visionaries, or the arts of impostors, or by the mere necessity, and craving, of the human mind for some intercourse with its Creator—in the absence of a national church and an established worship."

Now, Sir, if you will please to look at the 29th of *Espriella's* letters, you will find all these sects, declared by one of your own countrymen to exist at the present time in *England*, and sixteen more; sixteen, I mean, beside those, which, to make out his list of forty three specified, and the indefinite number, included under his et ceteras, he has blended together with intentional inaccuracy. Yet in *Great Britain* the Church is not divorced from the State. Pray, Sir, whence came this numerous train of sectarians in your own country? Is it true, that the union of the Church with the State, and the separation of the Church from the State, produce exactly the same effects? This has not usually been the operation of opposite causes.

To us, Sir, all these sects came from *Great Britain*. They are your own offspring. From you came to

* Are Episcopalians an Illegitimate Sect?

this country Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, Episcopilians, and Congregationalists, Quakers, and Moravians, Dunkers, and Shakers, "together with a multitude of others, whose names it would be unprofitable to enumerate."

The *Camp-meetings*, of which you make such eloquent mention, are derived from *Great Britain*. The very Bishops of Methodism, whom you sent over to this country, the travelling ministers, who came from *England*, have given birth to these shameful extravagancies: and these extravagancies, notwithstanding their public, solemn declarations to the contrary, are, with the highest probability, secretly cherished and supported by the leading Methodists in *Great Britain*. *Here*, by the great body of sober men, they are held in contempt and abhorrence. But they have been means of indulging the spirit of propagandism; and have actually contributed to swell the muster-roll of Methodism, by adding to it, annually, a considerable number of miserable wretches, easily made victims through their profound ignorance, the dictates of a vivid imagination, and ardent feelings, to the vociferation, and anathemas, of their itinerant exhorters. I doubt not, that the sober and virtuous men of this class, (for such, it is fairly presumed, there are,) really disapprove of these excesses; and are reluctantly induced to wink at them, from the mere spirit of propagandism: a spirit, which, when once imbibed, is too powerful to be resisted by any ordinary human virtue.

The real effect of what you are pleased to call the divorce of Church and State in this country, is to make all men feel, that they possess the same religious rights; to induce them from this consideration to feel

the same interest in the prosperity of the government which equally protects them all; and to live quietly and pleasantly by the side of each other.

Please now, Sir, to turn for a moment to the letters of *Espriella*; and cast your eye over the story of *John Wright* and *William Bryan*, and their visit to the prophets of *Avignon*. Thence proceed through the story of *Richard Brothers*, and of Mr. *Haled*, a member of your Parliament, and a man of no despicable talents, a convert to the phrenzy of *Brothers*. Thence proceed to the next chapter; in which you will find the story of *Joanna Southcot*: and then say whether you believe, that any country, even the United States, ever produced specimens of religious delirium, equal to these. Remember, that among her early believers were three clergymen; one of them a man of fashion, fortune, and noble family: not dissenting Ministers; not Presbyterian Clergymen: but Clergymen of your own Church. Did you recollect, Sir, when the Review, which is the subject of these strictures, was written, and particularly the paragraphs immediately under consideration, that *Joanna Southcot* was an *English* woman, that her rude, vulgar rhapsodies; “*the vilest string of words, in the vilest doggerel verse; which has no other connection than what the vilest rhymes have suggested;*” were believed by several thousand persons, besides these Clergymen; that She was believed to be commissioned “to destroy the devil,” and “was ordered to set down all his blasphemies, and show to the world what the language of hell is;” that she announced herself to be *the female Redeemer of mankind; a bone from Christ, the second Adam; the Bride of the Apocalypse; the promised Seed, who is to bruise the serpent’s head;*

that she disputed with the devil, and wrote down the conversation; and that she seals those, who in the Apocalypse are styled the hundred and forty four thousand servants of God. If you did recollect these facts, could you fail of subscribing the following declaration of *Espriella*? “We must acknowledge, that there never was any age, or any country, so favourable to the success of imposture, or the growth of superstition, as this very age, and this very *England*.”

I promised to take some notice of the *Education, in this country, of persons, intended for the Ministry of the Gospel*. You say, that “the office of Judge in the supreme and district courts, is conferred upon persons, who have not gone through any previous discipline, or practice, to qualify them for discharging it; and that the same holds good with regard to those, who are destined to be lawyers, physicians, surgeons, and *teachers of the divine word*. *For all or any of these callings*,” you say, “*no preparatory course of study, no testimonial of competency, no kind of examination, no particular qualifications, no diploma, or license, are required.*”

The justice of these declarations I will now examine. All the students in our colleges, unless some of the new ones are excepted, and some, I know not how many, in the Southern States, are taught Theology in form as a science. In addition to this, every individual, admitted to a license in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, and, I presume, in the Episcopalian also, studies Theology professionally; either with a Professor of Divinity, or with some Clergyman of reputation. At the termination of these studies, the candidate for a license, in the two former Churches, is regularly examined, before he can receive

it, by an Association of Ministers, or a Presbytery, until the examiners are satisfied of his competency, and, let me add, of his piety also. This has been the state of things with respect to this subject from the first colonization of *New England*. When he becomes a candidate for ordination, he is examined again, in both respects, in the same manner; and usually by another Presbytery, or Association. There is, however, one exception. A body of divines, how numerous I am ignorant, but small in proportion to that, whose conduct has been here described, does not, as I am informed, usually insist on such examinations. These are chiefly found on the eastern shores of *New England*. But these, and all others, require the study, and ample testimonials of the competency and general character of the candidate: and a diploma is almost absolutely indispensable.

Thus, Sir, this business was established from the beginning. In modern times four Theological Seminaries have been founded in this country: one at *Andover* in *Massachusetts*, by Congregationalists; one in *New York*, by the Associate Scotch Reformed; one at *New Brunswick* in *New Jersey*, by the Dutch Church; and one at *Princeton*, in *New Jersey* also, by the Presbyterian Church. At *Andover*, students are never admitted, except in extraordinary cases, unless they have been liberally educated; nor without certificates of an irreproachable character; nor without a formal examination.

After admission they are placed under the tuition of three Professors; of Theology, of Sacred Literature, and of Sacred Rhetoric. Their term of study is three years. In each of these years they are publicly, and critically examined. Then, in order to obtain

a license, and afterwards, to be admitted to ordination, they must in each case pass through the Associational, or Presbyterial examination, mentioned above. What is true of the Seminary at *Andover*, is believed to be true, substantially, of all the other Institutions of this nature.

I ought to add, that the foundation of a Theological Seminary is begun in the city of *New York*, for the professional education of young men destined to the Ministry in the Episcopal Church.

Now let me request you to look back to the paragraph, which has occasioned these remarks; and to ask, What am I, and what is the World, to think of the assertions, which you have made; assertions, without any foundation in truth, and without any appearance of decency. I think you yourself cannot but admit, that they are rash and unhappy. Of the same nature are very many of the other declarations, which are contained in the review of *Inchiquin's Letters*.

We will now, if you please, turn our attention to *the manner, in which young men are educated for the Evangelical Ministry in England, and in your own Church.*

In the *Christian Observer* for November 1811, is a Review of "The state of the Established Church, in a Series of Letters to the Right Hon. *Spencer Perceval*, Chancellor of the Exchequer," &c. As I have not the Letters, I shall take my quotations and references out of the Review, and such parts of the Letters as are transcribed.

On the state of your Universities, the author makes the following statements. "I believe, Sir, you cannot be ignorant of the manner, in which those systems are carried into effect, or rather are neglected; that

the example of too many among the preceptors, and the looseness of conduct suffered among the students, prove how widely our colleges have departed from the intentions of the founders; so that, instead of religion, they too often confer habits, and opinions, destructive to the individuals, and baneful to those, whose eternal happiness is hereafter to be entrusted to persons, so little qualified, or accustomed, to appreciate their own.” p. 1.

Again. “*There are more vice and profligacy countenanced at our universities, where a direct and obvious check exists, than would be suffered to take place among its members afterwards, when they arrive at situations in life, which present no positive restraints; and the scenes of riot and debauchery, which pass unnoticed (or at least are ineffectually noticed) by those, who cannot be ignorant of them, would, in this metropolis, subject the perpetrators to the correction of the police.” p. 20.*

The Christian Observer proceeds, “Religion the author conceives to be equally neglected.” “Christianity forms little or no part in the regular plan of instruction. Contrary to our experience in every other profession, candidates for our Ministry are taught every branch of science, but that in which they are to practice. *Chapel is not attended till it is half over. Many go there intoxicated as to a kind of roll call: and though the assumption of the Lord’s supper is peremptory upon the students, no care is taken to teach them its importance,” &c. p. 22.*

Letter III opens with similar statements in respect to examination for orders. “Our future clergyman, having taken his degree, (to which the principles of religion form at Cambridge no step whatever. and at

Oxford a very trifling one,) and having, often by Euclid alone, attained that object, announces himself a candidate for holy orders.” Then “so very lax has become the examination for orders, that there is no man, who has taken a degree at the university, who cannot reckon on ordination as a certainty, whatever his attainments in learning, morals, or religion, &c.”—“Speaking generally, I believe the only qualifications are to construe a chapter in the Greek Testament, and answer a few questions out of Grotius.” A specimen of these answers is then given in the answer of a young man to the question, *Who was the Mediator between God and man?* Answer. “The Archbishop of Canterbury.” pp. 24—26. Speaking of the difficulties, he would, on the contrary, oppose to the attainment of orders, he says, “I shall, perhaps, be answered, ‘How hard to throw a young man back upon the world! that school learning is not of so much consequence, as the moral character of a minister, &c.’” To which he replies 1st. by hoping, that, if a change in the mode of examination were once known, candidates would come as well prepared for the latter, as now unprepared for the former; and that, 2dly, it is actually “the want of attention to moral character, which is at present most to be deplored, and which he could wish to see commence even before the time of ordination, &c.” This cursory wish, with a single page in Letter X, is the whole of the remedy, our writer has to propose for the cure of such numerous, inveterate, and complicated disorders. “The first step to a reform in the church establishment,” he tells us, “should be an entire and total revision of the system of our universities. A knowledge and rigid practice of the duties of religion should be rendered indis-

pensable. *Vice should be not only checked, but made after a certain limit a positive obstacle to ordination. A preparation, and examination for orders should be a part of the collegiate system, not left to Bishops, or their chaplains; decent attendance on the church service prescribed;* and young men, intended for the church, should declare such intention on their admission to the university.” pp. 123—126.

You will please to remark, Sir, this account is substantially admitted by the Editors of the Christian Observer. For they say “We might have stirred to jealousy our English universities by a close comparison of the youth, there under tuition for holy orders, with those in foreign establishments. We might have referred our venerable pastors to that, which is daily asserted without contradiction, the incomparably greater learning, both literary, and more especially theological, to be found in the youth of our sister ministry in Scotland to that, found amongst our own. Their eyes might have been directed nearer home to instances of religious education, successfully conducted even in this our own land amongst a class, whom it is alike its own misfortune, and ours, that we must consider as in rivalry with ourselves; and they might have been intreated to consider what ground has been offered for others to assert that even a large majority of regularly educated dissenting ministers are better versed in the common places of theology, and that knowledge of their Bible, on which as a science it rests, than even a small minority of our rising ministry. Our address would then have humbly, but practically, suggested it to the conscience of each authorized instructor of youth, or superintendant of the church, how far the wished-for reform be not dependent, within its own

sphere, wholly and solely upon himself. We should have advised no waiting here for general regulations, for legislative innovations, or metropolitan societies for the education of the clergy on Dr. Bell's plan, to be simultaneously adopted throughout the kingdom. The change, we should have hinted, as in our minds the only practicable one, would be the private, and perhaps unperceived change, which each collegiate, or episcopal dignitary should at the very next recurrence of public examination think himself bound in duty to adopt in regard to his own charge. We should press upon them (with all due deference to an authority, whose difficulties can only be understood from its exercise) *the shameful instances of abuse in these respects, which we are constrained to fear, are often known to slip by those, who observe, and who might prevent, them, but do it not.* Upon the heads or tutors of colleges, or professors, might be urged the immense advantage, they respectively possess, for impressing on the minds of their pupils the nature of that holy office, into which many are to pass from their hands. And even on the most venerable order itself might be urged its own absolute and uncontrollable power, for repelling any, (if they please without a reason) who shall dare to approach them uninformed, unqualified for the sacred office, with lips untouched by the flame of holy zeal, or censers unhallowed, to bear incense in the house of the LORD. Some living example, to this effect, and some who live but in grateful recollection, might have been cited, whose salutary exertions still rescue *episcopal examination from absolute contempt.* And finally, we should have pointed to that great day "when the Chief Shepherd shall appear," and asked, if any temporal ease, or temporary applause for crimin-

al levity, in the discharge of their important duties would be well purchased by a burdened conscience in the recollection of past negligence, or by a single frown from His countenance, before whom “the heavens and the earth will flee away, and there will be found no place for them.”

Nor, as it would seem, is this deplorable state of education for the Ministry in your Church any thing new. “By reason whereof,” says *Hooker*, that is, “the rash and careless ordaining of every one, that hath but a friend to bestow some two or three words of ordinary commendation in his behalf; the church groweth burdened with silly creatures more than need; whose noted baseness and insufficiency bringeth their very order itself into contempt.”

“Our Ember weeks,” says *Bishop Burnet*, “are the burden and grief of my life. The much greater part of those, who come to be ordained, are ignorant to a degree, not to be apprehended by those, who are not obliged to know it. The easiest part of knowledge is that, to which they are the greatest strangers; I mean the plainest parts of the Scriptures, which, they say in excuse for their ignorance, that their tutors in the universities never mentioned the reading of to them; so that they can give no account, or at least a very imperfect one, of the contents even of the Gospel. Those, who have read some books, yet never seem to have read the Scriptures. Many cannot give a tolerable account even of the Catechism itself, how short and plain soever. They cry, and think it a sad disgrace to be denied orders, though the ignorance of some is such, that in a well regulated state of things they would appear *not knowing enough to be admitted to the holy sacrament.*”

I hope, Sir, that when you and your brother journalists shall have read these statements, we shall hear no more of the want of education, or of examinations, or of diplomas, or of testimonials of competency, or of any other qualifications, in the young men, destined to the Ministry in this country. I presume you have not read them hitherto, if you have, your attack upon us is as shameless, as it is unfounded.

That you may not suppose me to place an undue reliance on these testimonies, respectable as they are, I will point you to one or two others. In the 46th Letter of *Espriella*, you may find the following declarations. "There is to be found every where a great number of those persons, whom we cannot prove to be human beings, by any rational characteristic which they possess, but who must be admitted to be so by a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, because they cannot possibly be any thing else. They pass for men in the world, because it has pleased God for wise purposes, however inscrutable to us, to set them upon two legs, instead of four; to give them smooth skins, and no tail; and to enable them to speak without having their tongues slit. They are like those weeds which will spring up, and thrive in every soil, and every climate; and which no favourable circumstance can improve into utility. It is of little consequence whether they shoot water fowl, attend horse races, frequent the brothel, and encourage the wine trade, in one place, or another; but as a few years of this kind of life usually satisfy a man for the rest of it, it is convenient that there should be a place appointed, where one of this description can pass through his course of studies out of sight of his relations, and without injuring his character, and from whence he can come with the advantage of

having been at the University, and a qualification, which enables him to undertake the cure of souls. The heretical bishops never inquire into the moral conduct of those, upon whom they lay their unhallowed hands: and as for the quantity of learning, which is required, Mr Maillardet, who exhibits his *Androeides* in London, could put enough into an automaton."

As these letters are believed to have been written by one of the gentlemen, who write in the Quarterly Review; the testimony, which he gives on this subject, will be readily admitted by you. But what must be the men; what, particularly, the Clergymen; who merit this character; and who, secluded from the world, and "out of sight of their relations" spend their time, without injuring their character, in shooting water fowl, attending horse races, frequenting the brothel, and encouraging the wine trade?" And what must be "the quantity of learning, which is required to qualify them for ordination, when *Maillardet* could put as much into an automaton?" And what must be the Bishops, who never inquire into the moral conduct of those, upon whom they lay their hands?

On Monday, June 18, 1810, the Earl of *Harroby* delivered a speech in the House of Lords upon a clause in the Appropriation act for granting the sum of 100,000 pounds for the relief of the poorer Clergy. In this speech is presented to the public an extensive, minute, and very melancholy view of the state of your parishes. Among the different painful exhibitions, made by his Lordship of this subject, that of the non-residence of your Clergy is I think the most painful. He informs us, that of incumbents, in eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-four benefices and dignities, there were only five thousand and forty legally or

virtually resident; and of course there were six thousand one hundred and twenty-four livings, on which the incumbents did not reside. In this land of barbarism, and blunders, it is difficult to avoid asking, Where were these six thousand one hundred and twenty-four Ministers of the Gospel? Every one of them declared, antecedently to his entrance into holy orders, that *he verily believed himself moved by the Holy Ghost* to assume the sacred office. For what did these men believe the Holy Ghost moved them to take upon themselves the Evangelical Ministry? Was it to assume the office, and forget its duties; professedly to take the charge of the flock, and then leave them to “strangers, who care not for them;” to gain a right to the living, without performing the service to which it is annexed; to spend their life in pleasure, and leave the souls of their congregation to perish?

The true reasons for this shameless violation of all their vows, this prostitution of their office, this abandonment of their duty, are, I strongly suspect, found in the following passage, in the Review of the Letters to Mr. Perceval.

“We presume to propose a similar style of address to the Clergy at large, upon the subject of another leading complaint, urged in this pamphlet—against their negligent discharge of the pastoral duties. But let us first hear, and offer a few remarks upon the language of this complaint itself. “A great proportion of our Clergy,” he tells us, “are a set of men, *wrapt up in secular pursuits, with a total indifference to the spiritual duties of their calling.* Many of them seem to consider, that they are appointed to a life of sloth and inactivity, or merely to feed upon the fat of the land; and that in return for immense and growing

revenues they have only to gabble through a few formal offices," &c. Many exceptions indeed he speaks of, and congratulates us on the learning and piety of many in the higher offices of the church. "But for all this I fear a great proportion of the Clergy are the very reverse of these high examples—and betray an indifference of conduct, and dissoluteness of manners, which, whilst it is most shameful to them, would not be borne with in any other state of life." He then talks of "*the reverend associates, and abettors, of public corruption and profligacy, walking about our streets, unsilenced, and unchastised. A horse race, a fox chase, or a boxing match, is never without its reverend attendants; and the man, who in the house of God hurries over the offices of devotion, as beneath his attention, will be seen the next day the noisy toast-master, or songster, of a club.*" "Their professional indolence, but one degree removed from positive misconduct," he next contrasts with "*their occasional activity at a county election in a cathedral county town. You have the honour of finding yourself in such contests acting in concert with deans, chancellors, archdeacons, prebendaries, and minor-canons without number. On such occasions grave, very grave, persons are to be seen, shouting the chorus of some election ribaldry, whose zeal, or even common industry, upon more important topics he had never witnessed."*" pp 37—40.

After attributing the success of the dissenters to the luke-warmness of the established clergy, our writer proceeds, in page 60, to state "*the great abuse of single duty—some-times only every other Sunday;*" which he declares to be the case in as great a proportion of livings above, as below, five hundred pounds

per annum. Advertisements to this effect he mentions, though perfectly irregular, yet as appearing in the very face of the diocesan. &c." "Of the manner, and the time, also, in which single duty is performed, it is equally necessary to speak; often at ten, sometimes at nine, in the morning; leaving all the rest of the day to revelling and drunkenness, or, what is more common now, to the itinerant enthusiast. And as to manner; *A clergyman, who gallops to the church, gallops through the service, and gallops away again, is generally too unique in his ideas to conform to others, though scorn to obey them; and has of course a liturgy and a rubric of his own. The Decalogue is hurried over in the desk with as little ceremony, as the detail of a fox chase.* And in many parishes the whole morning service does not (including the sermon) occupy three quarters of an hour. The infrequency of the sacrament is likewise alluded to, and the excuse justly reprobated, that there are no communicants, which only implies a further neglect in the clergyman—also the neglect of catechizing contrary to "the Methodists." There a great part of the Sabbath is set apart for the instruction of children in their particular tenets. And often, *while the parish priest is lolling on his sofa, after the imaginary fatigues of his unusual exertions,* under his very nose are these intruders zealously undermining the establishment, which gives him bread." *Original composition,* it is next observed, *is scarcely known among them,* and even their selections are represented as injudicious, and so often repeated, as to be quite familiar to the audience. And finally, "pastoral visits are not only greatly neglected, or wholly discontinued, but even their obligation is denied; and the clergy are

convinced that the duties of hospitality, and of domestic instruction and consolation to the young, the depraved the decrepid, and the dying, form no part of the demands which their parishioners have upon them.” pp. 68—70. To all which the state of the London clergy is represented as affording a faint, though laudable exception.” p. 74. &c.

Now, Sir, when “the principles of religion form, at *Cambridge* no step whatever, and, at *Oxford*, a very trifling one, to a degree;” when the student has “often by *Euclid* alone attained that object, and become a candidate for holy orders;” when “so very lax has become the examination for orders, that there is no man, who has taken a degree at the university, who cannot reckon on ordination as a certainty, whatever his attainments in learning, morals, or religion;” when “the only qualifications are to be able to construe a chapter in the Greek Testament, and answer a few questions out of *Grotius*;” when one of these young men to the question, “Who was the Mediator between God and man?” answered “*The Archbishop of Canterbury*,” what must be the future character of the Clergy, thus inducted into their sacred office? Must not “a great proportion of them be, as asserted by this Letter-writer, “a set of men, wrapt up in secular pursuits, with a total indifference to the spiritual duties of their calling?” Is it strange, that “many of them seem to consider that they are appointed to a life of sloth and inactivity, or merely to feed upon the fat of the land; and that in return for immense and growing revenues they have only to gabble through a few formal offices? Can we be surprised that *the reverend associates, and abettors, of public corruption and profligacy* walk about your streets, unsilenced

and unchastised; that a horse race, a fox chase, or a boxing match," which I suppose are in the list of clerical amusements in *Great Britain*, "is never without its reverend attendants, and that the man, who in the house of God hurries over the offices of devotion, as beneath his attention, will be seen the next day, *the noisy toast-master, or songster of a club?*" Are we to be astonished, when we consider "*their professional indolence*, but one degree removed from positive misconduct, as a contrast to *their occasional activity at a county election in a cathedral county town*; or that in such contests *you have the honour of finding yourself acting in concert with deans, chancellors, archdeacons, prebendaries and minor-canons without number*; or that *on such occasions grave, very grave, persons are to be seen, shouting the chorus of some election ribaldry?*"

Can you, Sir, can any *Englishman*, wonder, that, when such is the manner of induction into the sacred office, "single duty should be sometimes performed only every other Sunday, at ten, or even at nine, in the morning, leaving all the rest of the day to revelling and drunkenness; or that a Clergyman, *who gallops to the church, gallops through the service, and gallops away again*; that he has a *liturgy and rubric* of his own; that *the Decalogue is hurried over in the desk with as little ceremony as the detail of a fox chase*; that in many parishes the whole morning service does not (including the sermon) occupy three quarters of an hour; that the sacrament should be unfrequently administered, and that it should be alleged, as an excuse, that there are no communicants; or that original composition is scarcely known among these Ministers; that even their selections are injudicious, and so

often repeated, as to be quite familiar to the audience; or that pastoral visits should not only be greatly neglected, or wholly discontinued, but even their obligation be denied; or that the Clergy should be convinced, that the duties of hospitality and of domestic instruction and consolation to the young, the depraved, the decrepid, and the dying, form no part of the demand, which their parishioners have upon them?"

To these remarks, the Letter-writer mentions the London Clergy as affording a faint, though laudable exception. Is it, then, true, Sir, that the London Clergy furnish *the only exception*, found in any considerable body of your ministers, to such a story as this? And is that only exception *a faint one?* What man, Sir, besides a Reviewer, and he, sheltered under his anonymous character, could ever be induced, with this picture of the Clergy in his own country before him, to attack, or even to censure, those of any other country? Where is the country, of which this story could be truly told a second time?

With these things in view, the account of Lord *Harrowby*, in itself apparently surpassing all belief, is easily explained. It ceases to be a matter of astonishment, that many of your Clergy should be non-residents. We should not, indeed, suspect, nor without the most authentic and decisive information believe, that the number of unprincipled Clergymen, so forcibly characterized by the Letter-writer, could, out of eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-four, be six thousand one hundred and twenty-four. The fact is wonderful. The number of instances, to which it is extended, is portentous. Most ardently must every good man wish, that it may be rapidly diminished.

In answer to all these observations you may possibly ask how great a proportion of Ministers are non-residents in the United States. In *New England* there is not one: there never was one: and, so far as my knowledge extends, there is not one in any part of the *American Union*. I speak of regular and settled Ministers, and not of Methodists, and other wandering preachers, professedly unsettled. Our Ministers, also, perform all the duties, which the Letter-writer complains of, as being neglected by *yours*. They preach sermons, composed by themselves, twice every Sabbath. They are not guilty of what the Christian Observer calls "*that very pernicious ministerial delinquency; preaching habitually other compositions than their own.*" "*This practice,*" says the able Reviewer of the Letters above mentioned, "*fraught with every deadening principle, and whose only excuse is that which intimates a man to be no credit to his profession, is, we verily think, the only means, by which the last degree of ignorance and insensibility can be made compatible with the sacred office.*" This practice, Sir, would ruin any man, who appeared in the desk, and has neither credit, nor place, here.

"*The Merchants of the United States, with the exception of New England,*" you say, "are a very different class of men from those, who follow that profession in *Europe*." As a Yankee, I might fairly excuse myself from paying any attention to this subject; and leave it to the merchants in the other parts of the Union to defend themselves. I will, however, make a few observations concerning this professedly superior character of your merchants.

Liverpool, the second trading town in *England*, has derived a great part of its wealth, and even of its

existence, from the most abominable of all traffic; that which is charged upon *Babylon*, in the Apocalypse, as one of its tremendous crimes; *dealing "in slaves, and the souls of men."* You will perhaps say, and may undoubtedly say with truth, that the *Americans* have been guilty of the same traffic. But, Sir, this traffic has here been confined to a few spots, and a very few hands; and, since we have had power to punish it, to such hands only as the diligence of law could not seize: an evil, which will certainly create no surprise in a country, where smuggling is so extensively carried on, as in *Great Britain*. Your little finger has been thicker than our loins. Such has been the fact from the date of our independence.

Of the trade, which about the year 1810 you carried on with *France*, your own writers declare,* that "*it was carried on by means avowedly fraudulent; with false oaths and forged certificates; and diffused profligacy and corruption through the different ranks of the mercantile world;* that those employed in it, were a various and motley race of men, possessing, many of them, a strange ubiquity of character; were *Jews* and *Gentiles*; traders who were at once *Englishmen* and *Americans*; transforming themselves into every imaginable shape, as the occasion might require." They say, "this commerce was carried on through the medium of *false custom-house entries, or declarations, made either by the merchants, or those employed by them.*" "*Many of the captains, employed by your merchants,*" they say, "were placed in the unhappy predicament of *being obliged to substantiate, by oath, any false declaration, which had been previ-*

* *Christian Observer*

ously made concerning the subject of commerce.” They also say, that the practice of using false papers, at sea, was another subject for animadversion: and one of your writers says, he had heard, that “*a manufactory of these documents was carried on to a prodigious extent by certain individuals, who were well skilled in the art of forging them.*” He subjoins, “*there are a thousand other frauds, subterfuges, and contrivances, by which commercial objects are pursued in these unhappy days of the mutual prohibition of traffic among nations.* Property, it is pleaded, must be covered. He, that pushes *British* manufactures into the Continent, is called a benefactor to his country; but there is *a whole mystery of iniquity* which involves many of these transactions; *and few*, as I fear, *among our foreign merchants*, are now able to say, that they “*have the testimony of their consciences, that in simplicity, and godly sincerity, they have their conversation in the world.*””

Circumstanced as this subject is, it will be sufficient to have made these observations. What would have been its appearance, had *you* traced its serpentine progress, through all the various windings, with the same spirit, with which you have attacked the people of the United States?

From your collection of travellers, you then proceed to give an account of *the Morals, and Manners*, of the inhabitants of this country. Your first complaint is of our *Landjobbers*. In behalf of these men, I have little to say; and concerning most of them entertain an opinion, as unfavourable as yours. The number of them is inconsiderable. Some of them are probably, indeed I know some of them to be, men of irreproachable characters. Others are rogues: and your

countrymen, as well as mine, have suffered severely from their frauds. Both have, therefore, a right to complain, without any animadversion from me. At the same time *you* have no lands for sale, by the purchase of which men can become landjobbers; and, therefore, are on this score safe from any censure. But, Sir, from this inconsiderable number of men, amounting probably to less than five hundred in the United States, you ought not to have taken the character of a nation.

You then inform us, that "the moment a foreigner sets his foot on the quay, he is surrounded by a set of idlers, who very familiarly ask him a thousand questions," of which you give us a string sufficiently long. Permit me to inform you, Sir, that if you believe this tale of a cock and a bull, your confidence has been abused; and that such a set of questions was never asked of any foreigner, in these circumstances, since *America* was discovered. Foreigners are here treated with more civility than they ordinarily meet with in *England*, and with incomparably more than most of those, who visit us, deserve.

"The unfortunate man," you then inform us, "hastens to make his escape to the tavern. Here," you say, "he is forthwith beset by a swarm of speculators, of a superiour order. Having run the gauntlet through these, he is left, but, alas! not to a quiet fireside, and a solitary meal. His landlord and landlady," you say, in language, sufficiently coarse, "seat themselves at table with him, together with their dirty children, and perhaps too with their servants; and the children seize the stranger's drink, *slobber in it*, and often snatch a dainty bit from his plate." More quotations are, I presume, unnecessary.

All this you have said with *Lambert* in your hands: for you have quoted from him a passage, which you thought might aid your attempts to scandalize this country. Had you possessed the least candour, you could not, I think, have failed, (in the midst of the numerous aspersions, which you have heaped together from every dirty source, within your reach,) to quote the following passages from that sensible and fair-minded writer.

“Much has been said by former travellers of the familiarity, and rudeness, of the *American* people. I will not attempt to contradict their assertions; but for myself I must declare, in justice to the *American* character; that I experienced the utmost civility and even politeness from the inhabitants in every part of the country through which I travelled. The coachmen were civil, and the tavern-keepers attentive; and wherever I had occasion to mix with the country people, I never met with the least rudeness, or shadow of impertinence on any occasion: on the contrary, they were civil and obliging.”

“At the taverns and farm houses, where we rested on the road, we found the people extremely civil and attentive. We were treated with as much respect, as if we had been at our own houses: and the landlord, his wife, and daughters, waited on us in the most obliging manner. I do not mention this as a solitary instance: it was general, at every house, where we stopped. Neither have I drawn my conclusions merely from the reception, I met with at taverns, and other places of public resort, but from my observations upon the people in general, with whom I had frequent opportunities of mixing, whether they belonged to the highest, or the lowest, orders of the community. I believe it

is generally allowed, that for a traveller, who wishes to make himself master of the real character and disposition of a people, it is not sufficient, that he associates only with the *grandees* of a nation. He must mix with the *plebeians*: otherwise he acquires but false ideas of the country, and its inhabitants. "The great mass of nations," says Dr. Johnson, "are neither *rich* nor *gay*. *They*, whose aggregate constitutes the *people*, are found in the *streets* and the *villages*, in the *shops* and the *farms*: and from *them*, *collectively considered*, must the measure of general prosperity be taken." From these I have judged of the *real character* of the *Americans*; and I found it *as difficult to discover a single particle of rudeness, in the behaviour of the men, as it was to discover an ugly face, or bad teeth among the young women.*"*

I hope, Sir, these testimonies from the only *British* traveller in the U. S. within my information, who has united intelligence, candour, and veracity, will be admitted even by you, as a proof that the senseless, and brutal calumnies, which you have assembled with so much diligence, are not a just representation even of American taverns.

Our inns, I feel assured, are inferior to yours;† but I am informed by authority, which, if I were to name it, even you would respect, that they are superior to those of any country on the *European* Continent. At

* Lambert, vol. iii, p. 98.

† "It is not common to find poor inns in *England*; but in this instance we were served with miserable tea, and miserable bread, and attended by a surly waiter. I came to the house with extreme fatigue, and left it with extreme disgust." *Sill. Journ.* See on this subject the travels of *M. Morier*, a *Prussian Clergyman*. The truth is; the inns in *England* are good wherever there is sufficient travelling, (and that of wealthy people,) to support the expense of costly accommodations: where there is not, they are bad; as in other countries.

the same time your inns are enormously expensive; and may well afford to furnish many gratifications to an epicure, which are not found, because they cannot be afforded, in ours. Our inn-keepers cannot build so large houses, and of course cannot furnish such a multitude of rooms; nor can they keep such a train of servants. Travellers, here, are not generally rich enough, to be at the expense of such costly accommodations.

Concerning the food in our inns, take, if you please, the account given by *Lambert*.* "We put up for the night at a very good tavern, where we were supplied with an excellent supper, composed of as great a variety as we met with for breakfast at *Shelburne*, and which is customary at all the taverns throughout the northern States."

Again. "At the better sort of *American* taverns, or hotels, very excellent dinners are provided, consisting of almost every thing in season. The hour is from two to three o'clock; and there are three meals in a day. They breakfast at eight o'clock, on rump-steaks, fish, eggs, and a variety of cakes, with tea or coffee. The last meal is at seven in the evening; and consists of as substantial fare as the breakfast, with the addition of cold fowl, or ham, &c. The price of boarding at these houses is from a dollar and a half to two dollars per day. Brandy, hollands, and other spirits, are allowed at dinner; but every other liquor is paid for extra. *English* breakfasts, and teas, generally speaking, are meagre repasts, compared with those of America: and, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, the people live, with respect to eating, in a much more

*luxurious manner than we do; particularly in the great towns and their neighbourhoods.”**

The price of your accommodations would certainly furnish very genteel living in this country. They are stated by the *American* traveller, whose Journal I have several times quoted, at the following rates;

	l. s. d.
Bed,	0 1 6
Breakfast of tea, or coffee, with toast, and an egg,	0 1 8
Tea at evening,	0 1 8
Dinner, of two dishes, with a frugal desert,	0 5 0
Glass of beer,	0 0 8
Bottle of Sherry,	0 6 0
Of Port,	0 5 0
Of Madeira,	0 9 0
Waiter, 3d a meal,	0 0 9
Chambermaid, each night, for making your bed,	0 0 6
Boots, for every pair of shoes, and boots, which he brushes,	0 0 2
Ostler, each night,	0 0 6
Porter for carrying baggage, in and out,	0 0 6

And these are the lowest rates, which a gentleman can possibly pay; and none of them can be refused.

I have stated these rates, also, at the lowest estimates, mentioned by this gentleman. This, Sir, makes the ordinary expense of a traveller, with one horse, and without a servant, a guinea a day at a moderate computation; or more than one thousand seven hundred dollars a year. This sum, in *America*, at least in *New England*, would purchase a very liberal supply of Epicurean enjoyments for a large family.

* Lambert, vol. ii, p. 152.

Less than half of it does actually purchase them for a single traveller.

But there is another fact, which illustrates this subject in a different manner. "The servants at the public houses in *England*," says the gentleman, mentioned above, "are paid by the guests, and not by their employers. They not only receive no wages, but many of them pay a premium for their places: that is, the masters of the hotels farm out to their servants *the privilege of levying contributions*; and the consideration is their service. At our hotel (*The Liverpool Arms*) the chief waiter assured us, that he paid one hundred pounds per annum for his place, besides paying two under waiters, and finding all the clothes-brushes, and some other et ceteras of the house. He had moreover, if we might credit his story, a wife and five children to support. The head waiters are commonly young men of a genteel appearance, and often dress as well as gentlemen."*

Were the servants in our inns *to pay for their places*, we might undoubtedly be furnished with an assortment of them for every inn upon very easy terms. But the custom of taxing travellers in this manner is unworthy of the character of a civilized nation; a despicable mode of plundering strangers by a set of harpies.

The remaining part of your Review, Sir, is chiefly made up of attacks, founded on the Works of *Ashe*, *Janson*, *Porcupine*, and *Priest*. I am not in possession of *Priest's Travels*; and can, therefore, say nothing concerning them. With *Porcupine* you are sufficiently acquainted. The works of the other writers

* *Sill. Journ.* vol. i.

are as little entitled to credit as those of Sir *John Mandeville*, of whom I remember to have seen this character given, when I was a boy, that *he was the greatest traveller and the greatest liar*, in the world.

You accuse us of having *civil and military officers for our inn-keepers*. I admit the charge, that such persons are in some instances found in this list. Pray, Sir, will you please to inform me what there is in the fact, disgraceful either to them, or to the country. Inn-keepers are, here, generally men of very fair reputation; and why they may not hold these offices, and keep inns, at the same time, cannot be explained; unless you can prove that your manners, only, are right, and that we are obliged to conform to them.*

Your attack on *the Women of this country* is equally false, and brutal. I have heard an advantageous character of the women of *Great Britain*; and believe it to be just: but I fear not the result of a comparison between the fair sex in this country and in any other. There is no country on the globe, where women are more unspotted, more delicate, or more amiable. Had you resided here long enough to form an opinion, you would blush, to your dying day, for the foul treatment, which they have received from you. A countryman of yours has characterized them in the following manner.

"The females of the *New England States* are conspicuous for their domestic virtues. Every thing in their houses has an air of cleanliness, order, and œconomy."

* In a debate in the House of Commons, June 1805, Col. *Crawford*, in a laboured attack on the *Volunteer system*, sneered at the Officers of the Volunteer corps because they were frequently taken from humble life. A *London Pastry Cook*, he declared, was, within his knowledge, a *Colonel of Volunteers*. Lord *Castlereagh*, who replied to him, did not deny the fact. It would be difficult to assign a reason, why an *American Inn-keeper* may not command a regiment of militia with as much propriety as an *English Pastry Cook*.

omy, that display the female character to the greatest advantage. The young women are really handsome. They have almost all fair complexions, often tinged with the rosy bloom of health. They have generally good, and sometimes excellent teeth. Nor did I see more instances to the contrary among the young women of *America* than are to be met with in *England*. Their light hair is tastefully turned up behind in the modern style, and fastened with a comb. Their dress is neat, simple, and genteel; usually consisting of a printed cotton jacket with long sleeves, a petticoat of the same, with a coloured cotton apron, or pin-cloth, without sleeves, tied tight, and covering the lower part of the bosom. This seemed to be the prevailing dress in the country places. Their manners are easy, affable, and polite, and free from all uncouth rusticity. Indeed they appear to be as polished and well bred, as the ladies in the cities, although they may not possess their highly finished education.”*

These observations are unquestionably just, and fall, in various respects, not a little short of the truth. Domestic happiness, if the accounts given to mankind of the state of society on the Eastern Continent, by writers of acknowledged respectability, are to be credited, does not exist in any part of the Transatlantic world so generally, or in so high a degree, as in this country. Whatever faults may attach to the male inhabitants of the United States, the female sex merit the highest estimation for all those attributes, which render women deserving and lovely.

Your next remarks are on *the slavery of the Blacks in the Southern States*: a subject, which you have

* Lambert, vol. iii. p. 105.

touched upon before, and in the mention of which you must be confessed to be unhappy: I do not mean in censuring the *African* slave trade, or the manner in which the slaves are treated.* To these subjects I make you cordially welcome. They are the proper themes of every moralist: and no severity, with which they are treated, will draw from me a single animadversion. It is the attribution of these iniquities to the *Americans*, with an intention to make them a characteristical disgrace peculiar to *them*, of which I complain. Surely when you wrote this passage you forgot how lately you have begun to wash yourselves clean from this smoke of the bottomless pit. Please, Sir, to take a short trip to *Liverpool*, and survey the hulks, which, probably in great numbers, are even now rotting in the docks of that emporium of *African* commerce. Then look around upon the numerous splendid buildings, public and private. Next, exclaim, "These ships were the prisons, in which hundreds of thousands of miserable *Africans*, after having been kidnapped by avarice and cruelty, or taken captive in war, kindled by the same insatiable spirit, and torn for ever from their parents, husbands, wives, and children, were transported across the *Atlantic*, to bondage, and misery, interminable but by death. In these floating dungeons, one fourth, one third, or one half, of the unhappy victims to this infernal avarice perished under the pressure of chains, or rotted in the pestilential steams, embosoming, as a vapour bath, the niches, in which they were manacled. This work of

* The Southern Planter, who receives slaves from his parent by inheritance, certainly deserves no censure for holding them. He has no agency in procuring them: and the law does not permit him to set them free. If he treats them with humanity, and faithfully endeavours to Christianize them, he fulfils his duty, so long as his present situation continues.

death has been carried on, also, a century and a half. What must have been the waste of mankind, which it has accomplished! These houses, these public edifices, nay, these temples, devoted to the worship of the eternal GOD, with all their splendour, were built of human bones, and cemented with human blood. Rise, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; and whiten by the side of men, baptized "in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST."

Are you at a loss, Sir, concerning the justice of this representation? The records of your own Parliament will furnish you with abundant and terrible evidence. Look to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons. Look to the account, written by the excellent *Clarkson*. Look to the speeches of Mr. *Wilberforce*, the glory of your Parliament, and of your country. Read the speech, which he delivered, April 2d, 1792. You will there read, "*Europeans* came on the coast of *Africa*, and hovered like vultures, and like vultures lived on blood. They ensnared at times, and at times by force took away, the natives, and sold them for slaves." Read the examples of villainy, recited by him on this occasion, too long to be quoted by me, and too dreadful to admit of a comment. He there will tell you, that of six hundred and fifty slaves, on board of one ship in the year 1788, one hundred and fifty-five died; of four hundred and five in another, two hundred died; of four hundred and fifty in another, two hundred died; of four hundred and two in another, seventy three died.

From all these sources learn, also, the immense extent of this foul business; the amazing numbers of unhappy wretches, who perished in it; the amazing numbers who lived, only to be made miserable; the

portentous iniquity, with which it was carried on; and the vast difficulty, with which it was broken up. You probably were present, as a member of your Parliament, during most, if not the whole, of the long struggle, made by many of your Nobles, of high rank; by your enlightened Statesmen; and by a numerous train of your Gentlemen; not the fox-hunters, mentioned above, but men of education, of enlightened and superior minds, and possessed of an honourable character among their countrymen; against the glorious effort, made by Mr. *Wilberforce* and his coadjutors to terminate this demoniacal traffic.

But, Sir, in your zeal to heap scandal upon the *Americans*, you appear to have forgotten, that you have Colonies of your own; and that in these colonies slavery exists in forms, and degrees, incomparably more horrid, than in the Southern *American* States. You have forgotten, that the enormous crimes perpetrated in this system, are committed by native *Britons* under your own eye, and beneath the controul of your own Parliament. I shall take the liberty to refresh your memory concerning this subject.

“To the disgrace of *Great Britain* and her colonies,” says the *Christian Observer* for July 1811, “the British slave-code is more severe in its provisions than perhaps any other. Compared with it, the code, promulgated by the Spanish government, is freedom itself.”

Will you please, Sir, to cast your eye upon the fifth report of the Directors of the *African Institution*, read to the subscribers, March 27th, 1811. You will there find, substantiated by evidence, which precludes all doubt concerning the facts, that a Mr. *Huggins*, a distinguished planter in *Nevis*, “went January 23d,

1810, attended by two of his sons on horseback, with upwards of twenty slaves, men and women, in the custody of drivers, through the streets of *Charlestown* to the market place, and there proceeded to indulge his cruelty to the utmost, during more than two hours in the face of day, and in the sight and hearing, not only of free persons, but of magistrates, who offered him no interruption."

To one negro man he gave, by the hands of expert drivers, lashes no less than	-	-	-	365;
To a second,	-	-	-	115;
To a third,	-	-	-	165;
To a fourth,	-	-	-	252;
To a fifth,	-	-	-	212;
To a sixth,	-	-	-	181;
To a seventh,	-	-	-	187;
To a woman,	-	-	-	110;
To a second,	-	-	-	58;
To a third,	-	-	-	97;
To a fourth,	-	-	-	212;
To a fifth,	-	-	-	291;
To a sixth,	-	-	-	83;
To a seventh,	-	-	-	89;

The number of victims, thus specified, was 14. The seven *men* received 1477 lashes; or 211 each, at an average. The seven *women* received 940, or 134 each. All these were inflicted with a cart-whip. The whole number of lashes was 2417; inflicted by expert drivers; within the compass of somewhat more than two hours; at the command, and under the eye, of this devil in human shape, and of his two sons, whom he brought to be witnesses of their father's character. Even this is not all: "for he administered," says the

Report, "to various other women and men, various other cruel measures of the same punishment, at the same time." One of these miserable sufferers died, soon after, of this merciless treatment.

Nor is this all. There were at this time seven magistrates in *Charlestown*. Two of them, the Reverend *William Green*, and the Reverend *Samuel Lions*, each holding two livings in the Island, were within hearing of the lash; and must have known of the cruel and illegal cause; yet did not interpose. The same was true of Dr. *Cassin*, a surgeon in that Island, who was present at a part of this scene, and after having counted 236 lashes, given to one negro, coolly said he thought it was enough. Another Magistrate, Mr. *Edward Huggins jun.* looked on, the greatest part of the time.

If you will read a little farther, you will find, that Mr. *Huggins*, the master, was acquitted by a jury, although the facts were proved beyond a doubt, so as not to be disputed, and although the slaves had been guilty of no offence, of any importance. In addition to this, the printer of the *Gazette* in *St. Christopher's* was prosecuted by him for inserting in his paper the minutes concerning this subject, sent to him by order of the Assembly; was found guilty of publishing a libel, issued by the House of the Assembly of *Nevis*, and was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and to find bail, to keep the peace for three years.

In the same Report you will find an account of a man, that is a human body animated by a demon; a planter of *Tortola*, named *Hodge*. This infernal agent whipped twelve of his slaves so, that they died. Down the throats of two females he poured a quantity of boiling water. A child he ordered to be dipped

in a copper of boiling liquor. Frequently he caused the children on his estate to be taken up by the heels, and dipped into tubs of water with their heads downwards, and kept there till they were stifled; then to be taken out, and suffered to recover and breathe: when they were again treated in the same manner: and so repeatedly, until they have been seen to stagger, and fall. On this he has ordered them to be taken up and suspended to a tree by their hands tied together, and in this situation cart-whipped. Among others, a Mulatto child, *reputed his own*, named *Bella*, was repeatedly whipped by his order: and he was also seen repeatedly to strike the child with a stick on the head, so as to break her head.

I presume, Sir, you are tired of this tale. So am I. I will only add, that, to the unspeakable joy of every honest man, who has heard, or who ever will hear of it, this wretch, after many obstacles had been thrown into the way of justice, was at last convicted, and hanged. Amen, and Amen.

I hope, Sir, we shall never more hear any comparison made between your slave holders and ours. Stigmatize both as severely as you please: but let your journalists, and your travellers, when they are branding ours with infamy, remember *Hodge and Huggins*.

Permit me, at the end of this recital, to return my most cordial thanks to the members of the *African Institution* for their noble effort in behalf of these abused people. The hand of God be with them, and make their way prosperous.

Your next topic of scandal is *the state of those, whom you call Redemptioners*; persons, who, wishing to come to *America*, and not having sufficient proper-

ty to pay their passage, agree with the captain of the ship to become bound, as servants, for such a period of time as that their service will amount to the sum, which they have engaged to pay. These men are usually, though not always, inhabitants of *Ireland*. If you really think their case a hard one, why do you not prohibit it by your laws? Nothing is easier. Make the transaction penal on the part of the captains. The *Americans* will thank you for such a law. Whatever you may think, Sir, we are not gratified by the transportation of these people into our country.

But, Sir, you totally mistake the facts in your apprehensions concerning the condition of these people in *America*. They are neither more nor less than hired men and women; no more slaves; no more oppressed; nor in any respect treated with any more unkindness. In all respects they are as well situated as hired *Americans*; and have as little reason to complain of their circumstances, as any hired people in the world. Believe me, Sir, your lamentations over them are lost. They would only laugh at you for your pains.

Another thing, which you attribute to us, is the use of strong drink. From Mr. *Lambert* you take an account, given to him by Mr. *Bradley*, (of the *American Senate*,) which he applied exclusively to the *Virginians*; and with the customary candour of your journalists, and travellers, when speaking of *America*, you apply it to the whole people of the United States. Had Mr. *Lambert* known Mr. *Bradley*, he would have perceived, that the whole story was no more than a piece of characteristical sport, intended merely to amuse his fellow travellers.

But I readily acknowledge, that far more spirits, both fermented and distilled, are drunk in this country than any man can justify. I hesitate not to pronounce the practice, in the degree in which it exists, both shameful and sinful. Yet nothing is more unjust than your assertion, that "the love of ardent spirits prevails pretty generally throughout all classes," or, (as you prefer the language,) "throughout the whole unclassified, and indivisible community." The inhabitants of *New England*, for example, are, I strongly suspect, much more temperate than those of *Old England*; at least than those who come thence to America. I have seen many representations on this subject, made by your own countrymen; and have heard many, made by mine. These could not be made with truth concerning the inhabitants of *New England*. But we need not have recourse to these, in order to settle this point to our mutual satisfaction. I will barely turn your attention to the "Stranger's Guide through *London*." Here you will find, consumed annually in that Metropolis, of Spirituous Liquors,

	Gallons 11,146,782;
Wine, - - - - -	Tons, 32,000, or Gallons, 8,064,000;
Ale and Porter, - - - - -	Bls. 1,113,500, or Gallons, 35,632,000

The number of inhabitants in *London*, may, in round numbers, be estimated at 1,000,000. Every one of these, if we average the quantity consumed, drinks more than eleven gallons of Spirits, more than eight of Wine, and more than thirty five of Ale and Porter. More than half of this number is, however, composed of children, and of such women as drink none. Accordingly, the estimate to each individual of the re-

maining 500,000, is twenty two gallons of Spirits, sixteen of Wine, and seventy of Ale and Porter; or one hundred and eight gallons of strong drink to every individual.

The whole quantity of ardent Spirits, supposed by the highest estimate to be imported into this country, or manufactured by its inhabitants, was, in the year 1810, 33,000,000 of gallons. The number of inhabitants was, according to the census of the same year, 7,289,903. Dropping the fraction, and stating the number of inhabitants at seven millions, the number of gallons, consumed by each individual, will, at an average be rather more than four and a half; or, (as half drink no ardent spirits.) rather more than nine to each individual in the remaining half. The quantity of Wine, consumed in this country, is not so much as a fourth of the quantity of ardent Spirits; and that of Ale and Porter is trifling in its amount. Two gallons to an individual, of both, will be an ample allowance. We have, then, rather more than eleven gallons of strong drink to each individual in the United States; and 108 gallons to each *Londoner*: viz. nine gallons of ardent Spirits to the *American*, and twenty two to the *Londoner*; one gallon and a half of Wine to the *American*, and sixteen to the *Londoner*; half of a gallon of Ale and Porter to the *American*, and seventy to the *Londoner*.

At the same time it is to be remembered, that one third of the inhabitants of this country have no other drink beside ardent spirits, and water; and, therefore, are justified to some extent in drinking spirits. The people of the Northern States drink cider, as their common beverage; but you need not be informed, that cider is a weak liquor, compared with Ale or Porter.

I presume, Sir, we shall hereafter hear no more concerning the intemperance of the *Americans* from an *Englishman*. Yet I acknowledge, that there is much intemperance in this country; and that it deserves severe reprobation, and demands the vigorous resistance, as well as discountenance, of all good men. But nothing is more untrue than your assertion, that "the love of ardent spirits prevails pretty generally through all classes." The farmers and mechanics of this country, and the gentlemen, (for such, permit me to say, there are in great numbers; as were you to reside here a little time, you would be obliged to confess;) are as sober and temperate a body of people, as can be found in the world, unless perhaps in *France*, and possibly in some of the countries lying under a hot climate. You will remember, that I am here speaking of the Northern States. Of the temperance, or intemperance, of the others I have very little knowledge, except what is derived from the estimate above.

After your eloquent account of our intemperance, you summon up again the story of *Gouging*. *Gouging* is as infamous and abominable a practice, as even you can paint it; and you have my consent to attack it as often, and as severely, as you please. So far as I know, it has never crossed the *Potowmac*. As *Maryland* is a slave State I will, for the present, throw it out of the computation. From *Maryland* northward, where, it is presumed, not an instance of gouging has happened since the first colonization of this country, the free population amounts to 3,758,851. South of this line the same population amounts to 2,258,430. Let those, who are included in the latter sum, cleanse their hands from the guilt and disgrace of this prac-

tice, as well as they can. Among those, included in the former sum, it is unknown: and therefore, the authority of *Weld* and Gen. *Bradley* notwithstanding, “gouging, kicking, and biting, are” not “allowed in all our fights.”

Of the number of our *fights* I will leave you to judge, when I have informed you, that I am advanced far in life, and that I have travelled through a considerable part of the Northern States, in both the old and new settlements, in all directions, and that very extensively; that I began this course at an early period of life, and that I have mixed freely, from the beginning, with men of most descriptions; and yet never saw but one quarrel between two adult individuals, which came to blows, during the whole progress of my life. Compare with this fact, Sir, your encounters between *Crib* and *Molyneaux*, *Mendoza* and *Humphrey*, and a long train of other champions of the fist; with your Gentlemen, Nobles, and Princes, assembled to look on. Compare it with your bull-baiting; and remember, if you please, the debate on this subject in your Parliament; and the speech of Mr. *Windham* on this occasion. Remember also the decision of that august Body, sanctioning a practice, at which both nature and decency revolt.

Let me inform you, Sir, that there never was a bull-baiting in this country;* and that the inhabitants regard the practice itself, the cold-blooded eloquence of Mr. *Windham*, and the barbarous decision of your Parliament with indignation and horror.

* Since these Remarks were finished, I have been informed, that a considerable number of years since, there was a bull-baiting in *New York*, and another somewhere in *Pennsylvania*.

I could pursue this subject, Sir, and several others connected with it, much farther; but it is unnecessary. I will, therefore, now proceed to take another view of the general one of *Morals and Manners*; and in doing this, will exhibit *your* Morals and Manners, as you yourselves have presented them to the world.

The gentleman, whose Journal I have several times quoted, speaking of *Manchester*, says, "The wages of the labouring manufacturers are high at present; but so few of them lead sober and frugal lives, that they are generally mere dependents on daily labour. *Most of the men are said to be drunkards, and the women dissolute.*"*

Espriella, speaking of *Manchester*, says, "These children, then, said I, have no time to receive instruction. That, Sir, he replied, is the evil, which we have found. Girls are employed here from the age you see them, till they marry; and then they know nothing about domestic work, not even how to mend a stocking, or boil a potatoe. But we are remedying this now; and send the children to school for an hour after they are done work. I asked if so much confinement did not injure their health. "No," he replied; "they are as healthy, as any children in the world could be." To be sure, many of them, as they grew up, went off in consumptions; but consumption was the disease of the *English*. I ventured to inquire afterwards concerning the morals of the people, who were trained up in this monstrous manner; and found what was to be expected, that in consequence of herding together such numbers of both sexes, who were

utterly uninstructed in the commonest principles of religion and morality, *they were as debauched and profligate, as human beings, under the influence of such circumstances, must inevitably be; the men drunken, the women dissolute;* that, however high the wages they earned, they were too improvident ever to lay by for a time of need; and that, though the parish was not at the expense of maintaining them when children, it had to provide for them in diseases, induced by their mode of life, and in premature debility and old age. The poor rates were oppressively high, and the hospitals and work houses always full and overflowing. I inquired how many persons were employed in the manufactory; and was told, children and all, about two hundred. What was the firm of the house?—There were two partners. So, thought I—a hundred to one.”*

The same writer, speaking of *Birmingham*, says, “Our earth was designed to be a seminary for young angels: but *the devil has certainly fixed upon this spot for his own nursery-garden and hot-house.*”

“When we look at gold, we do not think of the poor slaves, who dug it from the caverns of the earth; but I shall never think of the wealth of *England*, without remembering that I have been in the mines. Not that the labourers repine at their lot; it is not the least evil of the system, that they are perfectly well satisfied to be poisoned, soul and body. Foresight is not a human instinct: the more unwholesome the employment, the higher of course are the wages, paid to the workmen; and, incredible as it may seem, a trifling addition to their weekly pay makes these short-

* Esp. Letter 22.

sighted wretches contend for work, which they certainly know will, in a very few years, produce disease and death, or cripple them for the remainder of their existence."

"I cannot pretend to say, what is the consumption, here, of the two-legged beasts of labour; commerce sends in no returns of its killed and wounded. Neither can I say, that the people look sickly, having seen no other complexion in the place, than what is composed of oil and dust, smoke dried. Every man, whom I met, stinks of train oil and emery. Some I have seen with red eyes and green hair; the eyes affected by the fires to which they are exposed, and the hair turned green by the brass-works. You would not, however, discover any other resemblance to a triton in them, for water is an element, with the use of which, except to supply steam engines, they seem to be unacquainted."

"The noise of *Birmingham* is beyond description. The hammers seem never to be at rest. The filth is sickening. Filthy as some of our own old towns may be, their dirt is inoffensive: it lies in heaps, which annoy none, but those who walk within the little reach of their effluvia. But here it is active, and moving; a living principle of mischief which fills the whole atmosphere, and penetrates every where; spotting and staining every thing, and getting into the pores and nostrils. I feel as if my throat wanted sweeping, like an *English* chimney."

Again. "A regular branch of trade here, is the manufacture of guns for the *African* market. They are made for about a dollar and a half: *the barrel is filled with water; and, if the water does not come through, it is thought proof sufficient: of course they*

burst, when fired, and mangle the wretched negro, who has purchased them upon the credit of English faith, and received them, most probably, as the price of human flesh! No secret is made of this abominable trade; yet the government never interferes; and the persons concerned in it are not marked, and shunned as infamous."

"In some parts of *Italy* the criminal, who can prove himself the best workman at any business, is favoured, *in favorem artis*, unless his crime has been coin-ing: a useful sort of benefit of clergy. If ingenuity were admitted as an excuse for guilt in this country, the *Birmingham* rogues might defy the gallows. Even as it is, they set justice at defiance, and carry on the most illegal practices almost with impunity. Some spoons, which had been stolen here, were traced im-mediately to the receiver's house: "I know what you are come for," said he to the persons, who entered the room in search of them; "you are come for the spoons;" and he tossed over the crucible into the fire, because they were not entirely melted. The officers of justice had received intelligence of a gang of coiners; the building, to which they were directed, stood within a court-yard; and, when they reached it, they found, that the only door was on the upper story, and could not be reached without a ladder. A ladder was procured: it was then sometime before the door could be forced; and they heard the people within mocking them all this while. When at last they effected their entrance, the coiners pointed to a furnace, in which all the dies, and whatever else could criminate them, had been consumed during this delay. *The coins of any country, with which England carries on any intercourse, whether in Europe, Asia, or America, are*

counterfeited here, and exported. An inexhaustible supply of half pence was made for home consumption, till the new coinage put a stop to this manufactory: it was the common practice of the dealers in this article to fry a pan full every night after supper for the next day's delivery, thus darkening, to make them look as if they had been in circulation."

"*Assignats were forged here during the late war;* but this is less to be imputed to the *Birmingham* speculators than *to those wise politicians, who devised so many wise means of ruining France.* The forgery of their own bank-notes is carried on with systematic precautions, which will surprise you. Information of a set of forgers had been obtained, and the officers entered the house: they found no person on any of the lower floors; but when they reached the garret, one man was at work upon the plates in the farthest room, who could see them as soon as they had ascended the stairs. Immediately he opened a trap-door, and descended to the floor below; before they could reach the spot to follow him, he had opened the second, and the descent was impracticable for them, on account of its depth: there they stood, and beheld him drop from floor to floor, till he reached the cellar, and effected his escape by a subterraneous passage."

"You may well imagine what such people as these would be in times of popular commotion. It was exemplified in 1791. Their fury, by good luck, was in favour of the Government; they set fire to all the houses of all the opulent Dissenters, whom they suspected of disaffection, and searched every where for the heresiarch *Priestley, carrying a spit about, on which they intended to roast him alive.* Happily for

himself, and for the national character, he had taken an alarm, and withdrawn in time."*

These observations, Sir, are said to have been made by a gentleman, reported, generally, to be one of the writers in the *Quarterly Review*: their truth, therefore, will hardly be disputed by you.

I might pursue the same course of illustration through many other writers, and extend my quotations to the size of a volume; but the tale would be too tedious to be read, as well as too burdensome to be written. I will, therefore, hasten it to a conclusion.

In *Colquhoun's Police of London*, a summary is given to the world of the sorts of villainy, regularly carried on in the Capital of the *British Empire*; the boast, as well as the pride, of every *Englishman*. This summary, as I, although an *American*, have providentially had the means of knowing, was the result of the best information, which the nature of the case will admit; better, probably, than ever was possessed by any other man; and is therefore to be regarded as authentic. Let me invite you to look at the following table, copied from this very intelligent Work. It contains the sorts of villains, which, like spirits from the nether world, haunt that great city, making it a second *Pandæmonium*; and annexes to each sort the number of wretches which it contains.

1. Professed thieves, burglars, highway robbers, pickpockets, and river-pirates,	2,000
2. Professed receivers of stolen goods,	60
3. Coiners, &c. of base money,	3,000
Carried forward,	5,060

* Esp. Letter 36

	Brought forward,	5,060
4.	Thieves, living partly by depredation, and partly by their own labour,	8,000
5.	River pilferers,	2,500
6.	Itinerant Jews, employed in tempting others to steal,	2,000
7.	Receivers of stolen goods from petty pilferers,	4,000
8.	Suspicious characters, who live partly by pilfering and passing base money,	1,000
9.	Menials, who defraud their employers in a little way, so as generally to elude detection, estimated at	3,500
10.	Swindlers, cheats, and low gamblers, living chiefly by fraudulent transactions in the lottery,	7,440
11.	Other classes of cheats, not included in the above,	1,000
12.	Dissolute publicans, who make their houses rendezvous for thieves, swindlers, and dealers in base money,	1,000
13.	Inferior officers in the Customs and Excise, including supernumeraries and glut-men, sharing the pillage, and frauds, committed on the revenue, estimated at	1,000
14.	Persons keeping chandlers' shops for the sale of provisions to the poor, and cheating their customers by false weights,	3,500
15.	Suspicious servants out of place, principally from ill-behaviour and loss of character, about	10,000
	Carried forward,	50,000

	Brought forward,	50,000
16.	Black-legs, or proselytes to gaming, as a trade,	2,000
17.	Spendthrifts, and other profligate men, seducing others to intemperance, lewdness, debauchery, gambling, and excess, estimated at	3,000
18.	Foreigners, who live chiefly by gambling,	5,000
19.	Bawds, who keep houses of ill-fame, &c.	2,000
20.	Females, who support themselves chiefly, or wholly, by prostitution,*	50,000
21.	Dishonest strangers, out of employment,	1,000
22.	Strolling minstrels, ballad-singers, show-men, trumpeters, and gypsies,	1,500
23.	Grubbers, and a long train of other low pilferers,	2,000
24.	Common beggars,	3,000
	Total,	119,500

"This shocking catalogue," says the intelligent magistrate, "does not include every fraud and dishonesty which is practised." Yet here, Sir, is a list, which holds out more than one ninth of the population of your great city, as living by fraud, villainy, and pollution. What must be your feelings, Sir, when walking through the streets of *Loudon*, to know that one person, out of every nine whom you meet, is of this character?

In the year, from September 1790, to September 1791, including 445 prisoners delivered over by the Sheriffs of the preceding year, 1,533 were tried at the

* This is worse, Sir, than voting

Old Bailey. Of these, 711 were acquitted, and 822 condemned.

Of these there were

10	for Murders,
4	Arson,
10	Forgeries,
9	Dealing in, and uttering, base money,
1	Sodomy,
2	Piracies,
4	Rapes,
642	Grand Larcenies,
32	Stealing privately from persons,
13	Shop-lifting, under five shillings.
16	Ripping and stealing Lead,
12	Stealing Pewter Pots,
22	Stealing from furnished Lodgings,
1	Stealing Letters,
1	Stealing a Child,
22	Receiving stolen goods,
7	Bigamy,
6	Perjuries,
6	Conspiracies,
3	Fraudulent Bankrupts,
15	Frauds,
9	Misdemeanours,
1	Assaulting, and cutting Clothes,
1	Smuggling,
7	Obstructing Revenue Officers,
1	Wounding a Horse maliciously,
38	Assaults.

895 Total.

Of these, thirty-two were executed: more, I suspect, than have been executed for the same crimes in

New England since the first Colonists landed at *Plymouth*. Yet Mr. *Colquhoun* says, that *this melancholy catalogue does not contain above one tenth part of the offences, which were actually committed*; so that the real number of high crimes, actually perpetrated, was at least 10,880. Yet *London* contains but a million of people; and *New England*, a million and a half. A capital conviction is, here, a solitary thing; existing but once in a considerable series of years.

You may possibly think, that the execution of our laws is lax. You say this concerning the United States at large: but it is not true concerning *New England*. The disadvantage lies wholly on your side. A century to come will hardly furnish such a list of criminals in *New England*, as that which is here disclosed. A single fact will show you the character of its inhabitants, as to their honesty. It is believed, that more than one half of the families ordinarily go to bed without bolting, or locking, their doors. Of what other country can this be said?

I have observed, that executions are here solitary events. Let me add, that a great proportion of the miserable objects, who suffer capitally, are foreigners.

You ridicule *Inchiquin* for saying, that "there is no populace in the United States, no Patrician, no Plebeian, no third or middle class." I need not inform you, although you seem to be willingly ignorant of it, that in every civilized country there must of necessity be persons, and families, distinguished for superiority of character, wealth, intelligence, refinement, station, and influence. I presume, that *Inchiquin* intended nothing more, than that we had no Nobles and no Peasantry. With his meaning, however, I have no concern; but, understood in this sense, the declaration is

substantially true. In our larger towns we have a number of people, who are styled *day-labourers*; and a very small number of these are thinly dispersed throughout the country; but the whole amount is inconsiderable. The public paupers in our country towns do not, I am persuaded, exceed one in three hundred of the inhabitants. In a number of these towns there has never been an individual of this class. Every man, with the exception of this inconsiderable number, and a very few others, holds his lands in fee-simple. Tenants are almost unknown. The people are, as a body, what you call *yeomanry*; possessing estates, on which they live in the enjoyment of competence, and independence. These circumstances are announced in the Scriptures as the safest, and happiest, for man: and with their testimony that of the ancient Philosophers and poets, and that of the wise men in your own Island, perfectly coincide. *New England* furnishes no reason to distrust its truth.

Lands are here obtained with comparative ease; and subsistence, both agreeable and abundant, is within the reach of every person possessing health and honesty, and even a moderate share of industry and economy. Very few therefore are poor; and even those, who are styled such, are rich, in comparison with the poor of *Europe*. Rarely are they without tea or coffee for their breakfast, or without animal food, once, twice, or thrice every day.

At the same time, all these people can read, and write, and keep accompts. There is scarcely a beggar, or a black, who cannot. In this important particular, even *you* will acknowledge our superiority. Recollect what efforts you have made to establish Sunday schools in your Island; the associations, form-

ed for their establishment; the difficulties, which they had to overcome; and the exultation, which has echoed throughout *England* upon the success, with which they have been attended. I give your countrymen full credit for this Institution; and for the good sense, liberality, perseverance, and patriotism, with which it has been originated, and supported. The authors, and friends, of it I hold in the highest honour; and cordially wish them the richest blessings of Heaven. But I need not inform you, that the existence of these schools; the discussions concerning their nature, and use; the difficulties, which were to be overcome; the numerous, and noble, efforts, to which they have given birth; and the triumph of wisdom and benevolence, which they have furnished; while they reflect immortal honour upon the name of *Hannah More*, one of the brightest ornaments of the human race, and upon all her illustrious coadjutors, declare, also, in the strongest manner, the extreme necessity of extending this education to the *English* poor, because they were before without education.

If you will cast your eye on *Dr. Currie's Life of Burns*, you will see, that he has mentioned *New England* as one of the few privileged countries, in which the education of *parochial schools* is communicated to the inhabitants universally. The King, and the Nobles, Gentry and Clergy of *Scotland*, occupied a century in establishing this Institution in that country. The ancestors of *New England* commenced, and finished, it in a day; and their descendants have maintained, and extended, it to the present hour.

I believe the Nobility of *Great Britain* are indispensable to the continuance of its government, safety, and peace. But you cannot be ignorant of the disso-

luteness of manners, which so extensively prevails among those, who form this distinguished order; and is so often complained of by your writers, of high respectability, and so often evidenced in your courts of justice, in other causes, beside those of *Crim. Con.* which are numerous, and deeply humiliating to your national character. It cannot be necessary for me to remind you of the private character of Mr. *Fox*; himself, indeed, not a nobleman, yet of noble birth; or of the imputations on Lord *Melville*. The history of your Nobility, although there are many honourable exceptions, is certainly not such, as to flatter the feelings of a virtuous *Englishman*. Look at the Letters of *Junius*. Look at the train of kept mistresses, at this moment, and at every other in your history, which they, and your Gentry, in great numbers, hold up to the eye of the public, without a blush, or even an apology: and then permit me to inform you, that I do not know two persons, of this character, in *New England*.

The Mediocrity of our circumstances has often been an object of ridicule, as well as of contempt, with *Englishmen*. Here, however, it is believed to be a source of no small happiness to the inhabitants. There is, it must be acknowledged, much less splendour; much less to admire; much less to boast of. There are fewer palaces; fewer stupendous public buildings; fewer magnificent public works. But, Sir. one rich man is always surrounded by many who are poor; and one great man, by many who are little. Wretchedness always follows in the train of pomp, and rags and beggary haunt the mansions, as well as the walks of pride and grandeur. If we have not many opulent inhabitants; we have few, that are indi-

gent. If we have not palaces; we have few cottages. One would think, that a benevolent man would feel some satisfaction in looking around him, and seeing competence and enjoyment diffused universally; in believing, that, exclusively of the unavoidable calamities of this world, the *multitude*, and not merely *a few persons possessed of princely fortunes*, were fed, and clad, and lodged in a pleasant and desirable manner. To me, no prospect, confined to this world, has been so delightful, as that, which I am always sure to find, when travelling in this country; the great body of the inhabitants enjoying all the pleasure, furnished by these very circumstances. Surely, Sir, even you must be willing, that there should be one country of which these things may be said with truth.

You may not unnaturally think this account an exaggeration. Perhaps the following observations of one of your own countrymen may convince you, that it is not.

"Throughout the States of *Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York*, a remarkably neat, and indeed elegant style of Architecture and decoration seems to pervade all the buildings in the towns and villages; and, I understand, is more or less prevalent in the rest of the Northern and Middle States. The houses in the small towns and villages are mostly built of wood: generally one or two stories above the ground floor. The sides are neatly clap-boarded and painted white. The sloping roofs are covered with shingles and painted of a slate colour; and, with sash windows, green *Venetian* shades outside, neat white railings, and steps, have a pretty effect. Sometimes the entrance is ornamented with a portico. The churches, or as they are oftener termed meetings, (meeting houses,) are con-

structed of similar materials, painted white, and frequently decorated, like the houses, with sash windows and green *Venetian* shades outside. The building is also surmounted by a handsome spire or steeple, with one or two bells. A small town composed of these neat and ornamental edifices, and situated in the neighbourhood of well cultivated farms, large fields, orchards, and gardens, produces a most agreeable effect, and gives the traveller a high opinion of the prosperity of the country, and of the wealth of its inhabitants. Indeed, those parts of the Northern and Middle States, through which I travelled, have the appearance of old, well settled countries. The towns and villages are populous; provisions cheap and abundant; the farms appear in excellent order: and the inhabitants sober, industrious, religious, and happy."*

Permit me to add another short paragraph from the same traveller.

"Through the whole of this journey of 240 miles, from *New York* to *Boston*, I had passed over a most beautiful tract of country, which, from the manners of its inhabitants, the excellent order of its towns, villages, and buildings, its farms, and orchards, gardens, pasture and meadow lands, together with the face of the country, undulated with mountains, hills, plains, and vallies, watered by a number of rivers, small lakes, and streams, afforded a variety of the most beautiful landscapes, and strongly reminded me of *English* scenery."†

Your next attack is upon a subject, which, I believe, no *British Journalist*, who has meddled at all with *America*, and scarcely a single *British* traveller,

* Lambert, vol. iii, p. 89, 90.

† Lambert, vol. iii, p. 98.

who has visited its shores, has passed by: *the Genius and Learning of this country.* The observations, made by those among your writers, who first handled this part of the American character, have been regularly thrummed over by all, who have followed them. The story, Sir, has become absolutely stale: and, if you will permit me to advise, you will not repeat it again until twelve months shall have fairly finished their circle. It was a pleasant story enough at first, I acknowledge; but a perpetual reiteration of the same thing, however good it may be, will become rather dull. Lest I should become so too, my strictures upon them shall not be delayed by a long preface.

The observation, which you have quoted from the *Abbe Raynal*, which has been written off in a succession, not much less repetitious, or protracted, than that, in which school-boys of former times wrote "*Command you may your mind from play,*" is a proof of the Abbe's ignorance, or a specimen of his customary indifference to truth. The two *Edwardses*, father and son, have exhibited as high metaphysical powers, as *Europe* can boast; and have thrown more light on several abstruse subjects, of the highest importance, than all the Philosophers of that continent and your own Island, united.

With Mr. *Barlow's Columbiad* you have a right to take any decent liberty. He has treated your country in such a manner, as to be lawful game to a *Briton*. I shall, therefore, leave him in your hands.

After disposing of him, you say, 'to Mr. *Barlow's* Epic may be joined a Poem by a Mr. *Fingal*. No descendant,' you say. "we believe, of the Caledonian bard of *that name*." You are perfectly right, Sir, in your conjecture. The author is not a descendant of

Ossian, the *Caledonian* bard, to whom, I suppose you refer, and who left no descendants. At least I see not how he could have sprung from this bard, unless by a *Hyberian* figure of speech. Nor was he a descendant of the real *Fingal*; the father of this same bard. The author, Sir, is a Mr. *Trumbull*, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, of the State of *Connecticut*. It was written, when he was a young man, in the year 1775. The name of the *Poem*, Sir, is *Mac Fingal*. On this subject, as unhappily on many others, which you have thought proper to handle, you have not been well informed. Were you to read it, which from your observations it is evident you have not done, you would find, that it is a work, displaying fine talents, a degree of wit, and of humour, also, rarely rivalled; little inferiour in these respects to your celebrated *Hudibras*; and in every other, far superiour. It is true the sprightly excursions of the poet are sometimes directed against *Great Britain*; as those of *Butler* are against *Presbyterians*; but as I, a Presbyterian, can laugh very heartily with *Butler*, so, undoubtedly, will you be able to do with *Trumbull*; especially as the prejudices of an *American* Presbyterian must be very strong; and those of an *English* Episcopalian barely exist; if, indeed, it can be truly said, that they exist at all. At all events, Sir, read this poem, before you write about it again; and, at least, learn its true name.

Concerning Dr. *Franklin* I shall make no other observations than that a multitude of your own writers, and a multitude of others, in *France* and *Germany*, have spoken of him in a very different manner from that, in which you have chosen to speak, and that you must permit me to believe, from the re-

marks which you have made, you are ignorant both of the history, and of the science, of electricity.

Concerning Dr. *Rittenhouse*, your strictures are eminently unfortunate. You say, that "*Rittenhouse* was an *Englishman*, not an *American*." Dr. *Rittenhouse* was born in *Germantown*, seven miles from *Philadelphia*; and was descended from ancestors, who came into this country from *Holland*. He was bred to the business of a plain farmer; and, while he was employed, when a boy, in the common pursuits of agriculture, indicated a peculiar propensity to Mathematical science by numerous Geometrical figures, which, for want of better materials, he drew upon his plough, upon the fences, surrounding the field of his labour, and even upon the stones, which it contained. A delicate constitution compelled him to leave the farm, and to betake himself to the business of making clocks, and mathematical instruments. In both these arts he was his own instructor. He invented the science of Fluxions; and for a considerable time did not know, that it had any other author. Finding an English translation of *Newton's Principia*, he made himself master of this abstruse work, when he could scarcely be said to have reached manhood.

You say some hard, and impertinent, things of Mr. *Jefferson*, because he asserted, that "Dr. *Rittenhouse*, by imitation, approached nearer to the Maker of the world than any other man; and that his model of the planetary system has the plagiary appellation of an *Orrery*." I suspect, that you mistake the meaning of the latter assertion. Mr. *Jefferson* intended, not that preceding imitations of the planetary system had not been named *Orreries*, but that Dr. *Rittenhouse's* planetarium was a work, so different from the *Orreries* of

Europe, so superior to them, and so entirely an invention of his own, that it was an error to call it by that name. Had you seen it, I am persuaded you would have adopted Mr. Jefferson's opinion.

You subjoin—"All that posterity knows about him is, that as President of a democratic club at *Philadelphia*, afterwards called The Philosophical Society, he signed some inflammatory resolutions, tending to abet the Western insurrection; and that he was a good measurer of land."

This, Sir, may be all that *English* posterity knows about Dr. *Rittenhouse*: and a part of this must be known by the aid of peculiar optics, because it is not true. The Philosophical Society of *Philadelphia* was never a democratic club, nor a political club in any sense. It was instituted in the year 1769, long before democracy was heard of in this country; and has ever been engaged, and with a considerable degree of success, in promoting science: and this has been its only employment.

But *American* posterity knows much more about this Gentleman.—He is known, here, by several curious Astronomical calculations, and observations; particularly of the transits of *Venus* and *Mercury*, in 1769; and by his very useful labours in settling, to the general satisfaction, territorial lines between different States. For thirteen years he was treasurer of the State of *Pennsylvania*; and was regularly chosen by an annual and unanimous vote of the Legislature. Soon after he resigned this office, he was appointed the first Director of the *American Mint*; and held that office until bad health compelled him to resign it. Permit me to add, Sir, that he preserved, through life, a character unstained and irreproachable; was holden in high

esteem by the best men in this country, and among others by *Washington*; and died in the full belief of the Christian system, and the strong hope of realizing its blessings in the future world. What may, perhaps, be in your view of more importance than all, he was a Fellow of the Royal Society in London. In your next edition of this train of observations on *American* genius and literature, which I shall look for in some one of your numbers for the year 1815, I hope for your own sake, you will treat Dr. *Rittenhouse* with a little more civility.

In your account of *Hadley's Quadrant* you are equally unhappy. It was invented, notwithstanding you are pleased to challenge the honour of the invention, as belonging to *Hadley*, whom you call "your ingenious countryman," by a Mr. *Godfrey* of *Philadelphia*. Permit me to tell you the story.

A considerable premium had been offered in *London* for the invention of a Quadrant possessing the properties, which were ultimately attained in this. *Godfrey*, a poor but ingenious man, applied himself diligently to the business of forming one, which should answer the description given in these proposals, and succeeded. To acquire the premium, and the honour of the invention, he engaged a passage to *England* in a ship, just ready to sail from *Philadelphia*. *John Hadley*, Esq. then commanded a ship, lying also in the *Delaware*; and invited the Captain, with whom *Godfrey* was to sail, to dine with him. After dinner he brought out a Quadrant, which he considered as superior to those in common use. His guest told him, that if he would dine with *him* the next day, he would shew him one, lately invented by a *Philadelphian*, which was much superior to his own. *Hadley* con-

sented; and came the next day, provided with the means of taking an exact description of the new quadrant. After they had dined, the quadrant was produced; and *Hadley* took a description of it. His ship being ready to sail, he fell down the river that night; and, having a very short passage to *England*, procured a quadrant to be made of the same structure. Some weeks afterwards the ship, in which *Godfrey* sailed, arrived in *Eng'and*. Here he found among that class of people, who were interested in such a subject, much conversation about *Hadley's* quadrant, as being a new and very happy invention, and much superior to any, which had before been known. He procured a sight of the instrument, and found it exactly the same with his own. You may suppose, that he was astonished at this discovery. The captain, scarcely less astonished at the grossness of the fraud, and deeply wounded by this proof of his own indiscretion, explained the mystery to *Godfrey*. The unhappy man became a maniac. *Your countryman* was, indeed, *ingenious*, Sir. I wish he had been honest.

Your observations concerning the City of *Washington* are sufficiently contemptuous; and I acknowledge, that there is some foundation for a part of the ridicule, which they throw upon it. The Comedy has, however, had a tragical catastrophe. Your Officers have blown up the *Capitol*, and burnt the *President's house*. They cost a million and a half of dollars; and both were esteemed fine pieces of Architecture by respectable *Europeans*, as well as by the people of this country. But whatever distinction they might claim; or whether they could, or could not, claim any; they are now no more. Probably you may enjoy more

pleasure in recollecting this fact, than most travellers will, in surveying the ruins.

You next indulge your spleen upon our *Naval efforts*. Realty, Sir, if I may judge from the information, which reaches this country from *Great Britain*, the exploits of our seamen awaken no very pleasant sensations in the minds of your countrymen.* From the pains, which you take, on all occasions, *to magnify our force much beyond its real amount, and to diminish yours much beneath it*; and that, in various instances, *in defiance of the vessels, and guns, and men, actually in our possession; when you make such laborious, and formal calculations on the subject; when you so solemnly inquire why the Americans fire so much more rapidly than your own people; and when you exult so much in the capture of the Chesapeake; an exploit, much less brilliant than you make it*; I cannot help suspecting, that you think more highly of the *American* seamen than your are willing to express. If you do not; you are the only nation in the world, which does not. We, at least, are satisfied with both their bravery and their conduct much more so, if I mistake not, than you are. Let me add, that you have not been accustomed to make

* From *Cobbett's Register*. "I have from the first expressed my apprehension as to the end of the war. I used my utmost endeavors to prevent it.—At last the war took place, and the disgrace, which we suffered at sea, completed the madness of the nation, who seemed to have no other feeling than that of mortification and revenge. What! should the people be suffered to live; should they be suffered to exist in the world; who had defeated, and captured, a British frigate! should those, who had caused the British flag to be hauled down, not be exterminated! Disappointment; fury! The nation was mad. "Rule Britannia," the constant call of the boasting rabble at places of public resort, was no longer called for with such eagerness, and was heard with less rapture. The heroes in blue and buff carried their heads less lofty. Their voices seemed to become more faint, and their port less majestic. They seemed to feel, as men of honour would, upon such an occasion. In short, we all felt, that a new era had taken place in the naval annals of the world."

this ado about your naval encounters with any other nation.

At the close of these observations you mention a silly speech made by *Mr. Wright of Maryland*, a member of Congress. You had before given a very contemptuous account of the persons, who constitute the House of Representatives, and of the indecent manner, in which their debates are conducted. With regard to the last of these articles I observe, that, though I do not think very highly of the manner, in which the debates of our Representatives are carried on, yet the adventure of *Matthew Lyon* did not exist during the time, when the House was in Session; and therefore does not affect the manner of conducting their debates. It is, I believe, bare justice to our House of Representatives to say, that, while in session, they are at least as decorous, as your House of Commons; and that the Houses of Representatives in *Connecticut* and *Massachusetts* are incomparably more so.

Please, Sir, to read the following transcript from your *Parliamentary Chronicle*, reciting some transactions in your House of Lords.

June 17th, 1794. "The Lord Chancellor then proceeded to read Lord *Grenville's* original Motion of Thanks; when he was interrupted by

Lord *Lauderdale*; who insisted that he had a right first to propose a Motion of Thanks to Colonel *Villlette* for his meritorious services at *Corsica*: Colonel *Villette* being equally entitled to them as Lord *Hood*.

The interposition of the Noble Earl being contrary to all the established Rules of Parliament, he was called to Order by the whole House.

The Noble Earl, however, persisted in what he called his right,

The Lord Chancellor stood up, and said, he spoke to Order from the Woolsack.

Lord *Lauderdale*, notwithstanding this, attempted to proceed, though the voices of “The Chair, The Chair,” echoed from all sides.

Lord *Hawkesbury* declared, he had sat thirty-five years in Parliament, and never witnessed such unruly and disorderly behaviour in any Member. He called upon their Lordships to support the Chair; or *all that was decent, and orderly, in the Senate, would be annihilated*.

Lord Lauderdale never sat down the whole time; and, as soon as Lord *Hawkesbury* finished, again attempted to interrupt the Chancellor, who was also on his legs.

The House at length prevailed; and the united voice of their Lordships in a peremptory manner compelled the Noble Lord to desist.

Is it then true, Sir, that your Peers of the Realm, assembled in the House of Lords, and proceeding in the solemn business of Legislation, behave in this manner? Is it true, that one of them, of high name, and great consequence, trespassed so grossly on the established rules of order, that another of similar distinction, felt himself obliged to call upon the House to support the Lord Chancellor; and to declare, that, *if they did not, all, that was decent and orderly in the Senate, would be annihilated?* and was this Nobleman so disorderly that *he could not be reduced to order, until the whole House of Peers, uniting their voices in a peremptory manner, compelled him to desist?* Had you been a member of the American Senate from its commencement to the present hour; you yourself would say, that all the indecorums, which

have taken place in it, would not amount to one such scene, as this.

As to silly speeches, I think you have your share of them. Permit me to make a few extracts.

Earl Stanhope—“The learned Lord has said, that the *aristocrat* tradesmen [In this land of blunders we should have said *aristocratic* tradesmen.] approved their conduct: the only persons, who disapproved thereof, were the *Sans Culottes*. I am a Sans-Culotte citizen; a Sans-Culotte individual; one of that swinish multitude, who think their proceedings unjust and illegal.”

Permit me to ask, whether the noble Earl at this time appeared in the House of Peers without his small clothes?

April 15, 1794.

Again. Sir *Gregory Page Turner*—whom I take to be one of the *country Gentlemen, who are unlike any thing, found throughout the whole range of the United States.*

“He said, he had not opened his mouth before this session, though *he had constantly supported the war in the strongest manner with a silent vote.* He was both willing, and ready to submit to any taxation, *the Minister should be pleased to impose;* and for that purpose, would, in concert with the other Gentlemen of that House, deliver in an exact and regular detail of his property. He did not mean to compliment Mr. Pitt, but he certainly had a high opinion of his integrity, and accordingly pronounced a long and irregular eulogium thereon. What was equalization? The *French* had talked of equalization: but in truth he supposed they wanted to make an equal partition of property. Every body knew he had not much

landed property, but what he had he should not like to share with these fellows. He was an insignificant Member, as the House supposed him to be; and could not say much to the purpose; but *he had two or three good coats which he supposed the French also would like to take, and leave him only one.* He supposed too, that men, who had no money, would scramble for all they could get; *and those who had but ten pounds, might want a hundred, or perhaps two hundred: he could not tell.* (During the whole of this diverting Peroration, the House was convulsed with laughter; and the Speaker was obliged to force an air of gravity, to command order.) *The Honourable Baronet wondered why the Gentlemen enjoyed his speech so much, since he did not pretend to humour.* These were his real sentiments, *which are—which are—which are—(another fit of laughter.) The War—Much had been said of the War. It is the War of Europe. It is—a War!!! We had engaged in this War, not for attack, but defence; to secure our property, our lives and honours”* March 6, 1794.

I am so pleased with the speeches of this Gentleman, that I must be permitted to copy another specimen of his Oratorical powers, exhibited May 26, 1796.

“Sir Gregory Page Turner,” says the Parliamentary Chronicle, “craved the indulgence of the House for a few observations which he had to make. When he stood up in the morning, or when he lay down at night, *he always felt for the Constitution.* (A laugh.) On this question he never had but one opinion. When he came first into Parliament, he remembered, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a Reform; but *he saw it was wrong, and he opposed it.*

Would it not be madness to change what had existed sound from the days of his father? (Loud laughter.) Were Gentlemen to make changes in their Constitution, as they altered the cut of a coat, for the fashion, or as a lady fancied a new head dress? (Burst of laughter.) When questions of such a dangerous nature, as the present, was brought forward, he could not sleep quietly on his peaceful pillow. Gentlemen spoke of places and pensions. He had neither place nor pension; and therefore he was at issue with them on the score of independence. Did *Birmingham* and *Manchester* bring forward propositions for a Reform? No. They were brought forward by Gentlemen, high in talents, and high in Opposition. Did Gentlemen expect to stop bribery, and corruption, in our Government? He never had such an idea. It was all one, whether the House consisted of 5000, or 500. They had not to consider who the Electors were, but who the elected are."

Now for Lord *Stanhope* again.

"I am a friend to liberty, to *French* liberty, so far as it respects the rights of individuals; and I will go so far as to add, that, if the fortune of war so ordain it, I shall glory to be hanged in such a cause: for it is the cause of Mankind, and of Philosophy."

Now, Sir, if his Lordship had really a strong wish to be hanged, I must be permitted to say, that any attempts on the part of the House of Peers, to prevent his Lordship from going to the gallows, must have been an unseemly, and perhaps an untimely, interference. For the cause of Mankind, *peradventure some one might even dare to die*; but for the cause of Philosophy scarcely would any man die. Since, then, a martyr has been actually found, ready to venture his

neck in this cause, the man must be very little of a philosopher, who would step between his Lordship and the gallows; but should his Lordship actually be hanged in this cause, I should humbly advise him not to appear on the gallows in his favourite character of a Sans Culotte.

Mr. Drake, jun. "I applaud the Honourable Gentleman, that has just sat down, who defended, with sublime, astonishing, and angelic eloquence, the measure approved by his Majesty. Immortal thanks to him for the honesty, and manliness of his declarations. I shall always be proud to have the honour of uniting with a man, so characterized, and so immortalized! I shall be proud to join him, to overturn the *enemies* of our glorious Constitution. I shall fight for this wonderful fabric to the last drop of my blood! He that entertains, and propagates, contrary opinions, is the greatest enemy to mortal man! For my part, I had rather *die a Loyalist*, than *live a Republican*. Oh! then, Sir, let us draw ourselves out in *battle array for the peace of the country*. Oh! Sir, I will not declare—Yes, Sir, I will declare, what delight it gave me to hear the Noble Lord over the way, (Lord Titchfield,) express himself as he did. I love that Noble Marquis; I love him in my heart, for the speech, he delivered this night. Oh! Sir, this country loves the *Bentincks* and the *Cavendishes*. Come now, ye valiant defenders of the glorious Revolution, assist me in my honourable endeavours to immortalize that wonderful event."

Really, Sir, this is very fine; and is no unhappy specimen of that "sublime, astonishing, and angelic eloquence," which Mr. *Drake* applauded so fervently in Mr. *Anstruther*. Why, Sir, this outdoes Mr.

Wright himself; and approaches near to *thunder-and-lightning-Williams*. But we are not yet come to the acme of Mr. *Drake's* eloquence: and far be it from me to do injustice, even in thought, to such a rival of *Cicero*, by failing on this occasion to quote his most pre-eminent effusions. Here they are.

"*Mr. Drake* then—in the most emphatic terms conjured *his Honourable, ever Honourable, and right Honourable, friends* to unite heart and hand in suppressing, and extirpating, *the very semen of a Revolution, which was but too evident in the volcanic, subterranean, infernal, diabolical, eloquence of his inimical friends*; who—(Here an immoderate peal of laughter.) The Honourable Member went on, "I have been interrupted in one of the most essential privileges of a British Senator: to wit, the freedom of speech; which, I hope, the Speaker has not omitted to demand of his Majesty in the present session of Parliament. If it has been obtained, I, in common with other Members, have a right to avail myself of it. In order to conciliate the attention of the House, I lament that it is necessary for Members to detail their political creeds. Whatever that of others may be, mine is loyalty to my King, fidelity to my Country, and love to the Constitution." (Great animation.)

Mr. Drake—"If by theatrical gesticulation I have betrayed an excess of animation, it was but the ebullitions of my heart, which oblige me to exclaim with Hamlet, that

"I have that within, which passeth shew;
These but the trappings, that the seat, of woe."

Pray, Sir, is *Mr. Drake* now alive? If he is, could you not persuade him to take a short trip across the

Atlantic, and teach by his example our Senators and Representatives a little eloquence? I do not mean, Sir, "the volcanic, subterranean, infernal, diabolical eloquence of his inimical friends;" I mean his own eloquence, and somewhat of that "theatrical gesticulation," and that "excess of animation," one or both of which "is but the ebullitions of the heart." Who knows, Sir, but such a measure, as this, would improve the Honourable Mr. *Clopton*, the Honourable Mr. *Widgery*, and even the Honourable *Willis Alston*. Indeed, Sir, it is difficult to conceive how much good it might do.

Turn we now again to the House of Lords, November 13, 1796.

The Earl of *Abingdon*—“The Noble Secretary of State has on a former night said a good deal about Lord *Clarendon*. Since that debate, I have met with a book, which gives a full account of Lord *Clarendon*. I will read some passages from that book, to show your Lordships what kind of a man that celebrated character was. In the first place, I have to observe, that Lord *Clarendon* was a very superstitious fellow, and believed in ghosts. But I will read a very curious dialogue out of this book about him.” (Here some of their Lordships asked the name of the book.) Lord *Abingdon*. “*It is a book of good authority. It is an hundred years old: and I bought it at a stall.* Before I proceed to read this passage, I wish to observe, that I think the old doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non Resistance is revived. I was in hopes it had been quite buried, since *James the Second's* reign. I wish to ask the Reverend Prelate (Bishop of *Rochester**) whether *Vox Populi* is not *Vox Dei*. I will prove it

* Bishop Hersley.

is; and that God Almighty always inspires the People on such occasions, and will do so still. I will prove this by authors as old as *Methusalem*,* though I am not prepared now: but when I am, I mean to come down with a very severe Phillipic upon the subject."

Bishop of Rochester. "Never having had the good fortune of meeting with any author, as old as *Methusalem*, I cannot meet the Noble Lord upon the subject."

Earl of Abingdon. "As I am not prepared now, I will prove it clearly some other time. I however inform the Bench of Bishops, and your Lordships, that every one of you, who believe in the doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, will be damned without redemption; because it is against the Revolution principles."

Again. "I have written against Mr. Burke. I have published against him: and yet he never would answer me. I have begged him to cut me up, to flea me alive; (an American would have said flay;) so as he would but answer me: but not a line could I get from him." *The debate at the third reading of the bill for the preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government.*

I do not believe, Sir, that Mr. Wright himself, when he was a Senator of the United States, and delivered a secret Message (made secret at his own request,) before a crowded gallery in the House of Representatives, could have excelled this display of Lord Abingdon's oratorical powers. But his Lordship, as we learn from the same source, appears as a Divine, as well as an Orator.

* Our Bibles read *Methuselah*

On January 6, 1796, in a debate on the Resolution that *Great Britain* "ought not and would not, interfere in the internal affairs of *France*," the Earl of *Abingdon* observed, "Does not the Noble Lord (Earl *Stanhope*) know, that *retaliation, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, is the law of the Gospel?*—And how is this to be accounted for, but that the Noble Lord does not believe in *the law of retaliation; although founded upon that Christian-like principle of returning good for evil?* He does not therefore believe in *the Gospel!*."

Now, Sir, I verily believe, that there is not a Clergyman in the United States, who, however studious, or however advanced in years, knew, before his Lordship discovered it, that "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, was the law of the Gospel;" or "that the law of retaliation is founded on that Christian-like principle of returning good for evil." In this land of barbarism it has been supposed, that the principle of returning good for evil was, *in reality*, a Christian principle; and of very serious importance in the system of the Gospel; and not merely "Christian-like." But what, better than this, could be expected in these *Transatlantic* regions?

It is time that these extracts should be terminated. Let me ask, Sir, what are we to think of the morals, what of the honour, cherished by the Members of your House of Commons, when we read, in the Parliamentary Chronicle for 1796, the debate on *the franking of letters*; and find it publicly averred by the Minister as a reason for curtailing this privilege of the Members, that *they were in the habit of farming it out at the highest price, and thus shamelessly defrauded the Revenue;* when we find a law passed, that no Member

shall frank more than ten letters, or receive more than fifteen, in one day; and that all above this number shall be charged to him? What are we to suppose, when in another section of the same law, we find Members forbidden to frank letters at any Post Office, which is more than twenty five miles distant from the places, where they severally were on the day of franking; and when in another, we see them forbidden to delegate their right of franking to more than one individual at a time?

Look at the case of Sir Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, a member of your House of Commons. While your abuse of our Congress was yet issuing from the press, this man was impeached for a *swindling conspiracy*; that is, he was charged with conspiring with his cousin the Honourable Cochrane Johnston, and others, to fabricate and circulate a false report with a view to profit by a sudden rise in the funds; and, after fabricating and circulating such a report, with having in connexion with his associates, sold out stocks, which had been purchased for that very purpose, to the amount of nearly a million sterling; thereby putting in their own pockets *twenty or thirty thousand pounds*, which they had thus filched from the pockets of unsuspecting purchasers. Of this crime he was impeached by a large committee, who were appointed to examine into the circumstances of the case, and who published to the world their names, and the reasons on which their opinion was founded. He then published, under the solemnity of an oath, a full, positive, and unequivocal assertion of his innocence. Still he was indicted by a grand jury, brought before your Court of King's Bench as a culprit, found guilty by a petit jury, and

sentenced by the Court to be fined, imprisoned, *and stand one hour in the pillory*, in one of the most public streets of London. At the opening of Parliament, and before the House had time to expel him, he grossly abused the persons who had impeached him, the jury who had found him guilty, and the judge who had sentenced him. He was, however, soon expelled; but the tale does not end here: you would rejoice if it did. As his place was vacant, writs were issued for a new election. Lord Cochrane had the hardihood to offer himself as a candidate; he addressed the electors; he bawled as loudly as ever, I presume, against *corruption*; he assumed that he was one of the *genuine friends of the People*; and, can it be believed! was returned as a Member of the House of Commons, by a majority of electors in a populous part of your proud metropolis. He of course takes his seat, and both votes and debates, if he pleases, on all questions relating to the public maintenance of religion, *to good morals*, and good government. Either Lord Cochrane is guilty of one of the vilest frauds, of a gross perjury in order to conceal it, and of gross slander of those, who impeached, condemned, and expelled him, or your honourable merchants, your boasted courts and juries, and your national Legislature, have most iniquitously proscribed and punished an innocent man, of high standing in society. I mention this alternative, not because I have doubts respecting his guilt; but merely to show, that there is no possible way of evading the disgrace attached to this transaction.

Such things could not take place in this country, while our present standard of morals remains. It has been remarked by judicious men here, that no person could retain a particle of influence, even among the

lowest and worst classes of the community, after he had been legally convicted of an infamous crime. Our villains, particularly those in high life, are obliged to abscond when detected, even before conviction. Your *Wilkeses* and your *Cochrane*s, though known to be infamously vile by every intelligent man; though tried as malefactors, condemned, punished, and expelled the House of Commons; are yet taken up by the people, made the idols of a party, again returned to Parliament, where with unparalleled effrontery they not only look honourable men in the face, but take an active part in legislating for a great nation.

Once more, Sir, let me ask, What are we *to think of the decency, with which the debates of your Parliament are conducted*, when in the House of Commons, we hear Mr. Burke (April 1794,) comparing the River Scheldt to the filthiest of all utensils, and that by name; or when, in the House of Lords, we hear the Earl of Mansfield translate the words *Sans Culotte*, used as an adjective, by the grossest phraseology, which he could have derived from a dog-kennel. These men were the lights of your country; and made Europe, and even these *Transatlantic* regions, resound with their fame. If such things were done by your leaders; what must we suppose to have been done by their followers?

To finish my remarks concerning your Parliament, I observe, that the most disgraceful Member of our Congress, (and we have had several, who were sufficiently disgraceful,) fell immeasurably behind the famous *John Elwes*, three times returned as a Member to your Parliament. Look at this man, Sir, then in the possession of near 800,000 pounds sterling, after having expended eighteen pence for his election,

setting out from his seat on horseback, with two hard-boiled eggs in his pocket; shunning carefully every turnpike road lest he should be obliged to pay the fare; stopping under a hedge; feeding his horse upon the grass in the road, and himself upon the egg; wearing a wig, cast off by a beggar, and picked up by himself out of a kennel; and following from morning to night the carpenters, who were repairing his houses. View him again at his own seat, mending his windows with a piece of broken glass, or a bit of brown paper; glean-*ing corn out of his tenants' fields; picking up stray chips, and bones, to carry to the fire in his pocket; pulling down a crow's nest, to add to his stock of fuel; and then complaining of the extravagance, and waste, with which these creatures built their nests.* See him again, *stealing into the stable, and taking away the hay, which his servant had given to the horse of a friend who visited him;* eating corrupted meat, and the animals which had been bred in it; and *devouring the small fry, taken by his net, instead of replacing them in the river until they should be grown, because he should never see them again.* Behold him hiding his money, wrapped up, a few guineas in a paper, and deposited in corners, and other secret places; and rising by night, as well as watching by day, to see whether it had been stolen. Finally, mark this man, *then worth a million sterling, and on the verge of death, crying out in his sleep, "I will keep my property: no man shall rob me of my property."*

When you have done this, muster, for a review, all that has been contemptible in the Congress of the United States; and say whether you believe, that another such human being was ever born out of *Great Britain*.

There is another subject intimately connected with your Government, much more intimately than I could wish, which demands a few additional remarks. "Your Lordships will remember," said the Bishop of *Rochester*, on the 11th of March, 1796, "that you have had cases before you, where *Ladies of high rank have been guilty with their menial servants*: if they are to be entitled to settlements upon Divorce, what is it, but to hold forth rewards to *Postillions, &c.* to debauch their *Ladies*? There have been, also stated, cases, where the usage of the husband has been pleaded in extenuation. In such cases the proper remedy will be, to refuse him his bill of Divorce; where, for instance, an old and debilitated man courted a young girl to his arms, *he ought to abide the event, for he takes her, with his eyes open to the consequences*. In the particular case before us, I see nothing that can be urged in mitigation;—*an old woman, forty years of age, having ten children, took to her bed a Scoundrel of a French Emigrant*."

This, Sir, is a most melancholy story; as the subject of it is a most disgraceful theme of legislative deliberation, disgraceful, I mean, not to the Legislature, but to the country, which has made the debate necessary. Happily for *New England*, this story cannot, so far as my knowledge extends, be told of its inhabitants. No similar occurrence, within the limits of my information, has been found here. In two of the *New England* States,* there are laws permitting Divorces by their Supreme Judicial Courts: laws, immeasurably dishonourable to those States, and fitted only to diffuse pollution. Yet such is the character

* Connecticut and Vermont.

of the *New England* people, that even these laws have hitherto drawn no such cases, as those mentioned by the good Bishop, in their train. Should they continue in force, there can be no reasonable doubt, that their consequences will be baleful to the purity of individuals, the peace of families, and the welfare of the public. Hitherto, their effects, although only pernicious, have been very limited.

With you, Sir, this most malignant species of corruption is of long standing; and appears to have pervaded your country throughout its early, as well as its later history. A great part of your Comedies, and of your Novels, a multitude of your Songs, and other Poems, and many other still graver Publications, have been scandalously obscene and polluted.* A *Godwin*, defending gravely his licentious concubinage with a *Wolstoncraft*, would, here, have been hissed in the streets by the inhabitants of every village, through which he passed.

This evil spreads throughout a great part of the higher classes in your country. It enters the palace: often it has ascended the throne. Look over one of your Court Registers; and see whether you cannot find proofs of it in the very names of your Dukes. Look at your present Royal Family; at the history of Mrs. *Clarke*. But I will stop: for, although you have driven me to these remarks, I have no pleasure in lessening the reputation of your Royal Family.

Perhaps, Sir, a plea may be made for this licentiousness by some others of your countrymen, which has already been made by the *Edinburgh* Reviewers.

* I have never known an obscene book published in the American States

"The passion of Monarchs for their Mistresses," says a writer in the forty-fourth number of that redoubtable Work, "is not always fatal to their own honour, or to the happiness of their people. *La Belle Gabrielle*, Madame *de la Valliere*, and other instances, might be quoted in favour of this opinion. But the monarchs, and their mistresses, were of that age, when a mutual passion gave to each a paramount interest in the glory and happiness of the other. The moment, when a nation most dreads and abhors the dominion of a mistress, is when they see in it the result of luxurious habits, rather than of passion—the feverish want of a decayed constitution, rather than the honest demands of nature and imagination."

Pray, Sir, is not the Conductor of the *Edinburgh Review* a descendant of those cattle, who, according to Lord *Monboddo*, were the first ancestors of the human race; *who wore tails*, and lived in the near neighbourhood of our Cousin *Ourang Outangs*? I presume his Lordship must have formed this part of his Philosophical System under impressions made upon his mind by the appearance, and character, of those around him. He must have seen, I think, mental characteristics, which, he supposed, ought to belong to those only, who had once worn tails; and their appearance was probably such, as induced him to believe, that they had not long been freed from this ornamental appendage. This Conductor was, I suppose, born in the vicinity of his Lordship: and, if the proper investigation were to be made, it would, I presume, be found, that the tail had lately fallen off from the man, or that the man had fallen off from his tail; for it is doubtful which was the

principal part of the composition. To this conclusion I am irresistibly led by the paragraph, which has just been quoted. "*The passion of Monarchs for their mistresses is not always fatal to their own honour, or to the happiness of their people!*" Very honourable, indeed, must be the character of that Monarch, who is an adulterer; and great the happiness of his people, especially of those, who are intelligent and virtuous, when they find this to be his character. "*The moment, when a nation most dreads, and abhors, the dominion of a mistress, is when they see in it the result of luxurious habits, rather than of passion; the feverish want of a decayed constitution, rather than the honest demands of nature and imagination.*" Lewdness then, it seems, that putrefaction of the *human mind*; that sin of *Sodom*; that sin, to pour upon which the vengeance of an angry God, an angel summoned from heaven a storm of fire and brimstone, and emptied its terrible magazines of destruction upon that abandoned city; lewdness, raised to the infamous excess of adultery; lewdness, changed into an incurable habit of adultery; faced with bronze; and, in an open, shameless concubinage, proclaiming to the world its indelible, and hopeless infamy;" is, What? "*The honest demands of nature and imagination.*" Such is the decision of this Reviewer of *Sodom*. What is the sentence of his Creator? Of the *strange woman* he says, "None, that go in unto her, turn again; neither take they hold of the paths of life."

Surely, Sir, these declarations of Mr. Jeffrey could have come from the mouth of no man, except a descendant from this ancient and honourable family. The brute must have predominated, in the writer, over the man; and held the pen, as well as controuled

the heart, when this effusion of animalism was poured out upon the world.

I have some knowledge of this man, Sir. He formerly wrote a criticism on *Lord Byron's "Hours of Idleness,"* in which are found the following observations.

"The poesy of this young Lord belongs to the class, which neither Gods nor men are said to permit. Indeed, we do not recollect to have seen a quantity of verse, with so few deviations from that exact standard. *His effusions are spread over a dead flat, and can no more get above or below the level, than if they were so much stagnant water.*"

Again. "With this view we must beg leave seriously to assure him, that the mere rhyming of the final syllable, even when accompanied by the presence of a certain number of feet; nay, although (which does not always happen) those feet should scan regularly, and have been all accurately counted on the fingers—is not the whole art of poetry. We should entreat him to believe, that a certain portion of liveliness, somewhat of fancy, is necessary to constitute a poem; and that a poem in the present day, to be read, must contain at least one thought, either in a little degree different from the ideas of former writers, or differently expressed."

And again. "But whatever judgment may be passed on the poems of this noble minor, it seems we must take them as we find them: for they are the last we shall ever have from him." [Poor Jeffrey! Happy, thrice happy wouldest thou have been, had thy prediction been fulfilled.] "Therefore we must take what we get, and be thankful. What right have we, poor devils, to be nice? We are well off to have got

so much from a man of this Lord's station, who does not live in a garret, but "has the sway" of *Newstead Abbey*. Again, we say, Let us be thankful; and with honest *Sancho*, bid God bless the giver, nor look the gift horse in the mouth."

But alas! Lord *Byron* would not let the prophecy be fulfilled. In an ill-omened hour, when, I presume, the Raven was heard to flap his wing; and the Screech-Owl, lodged in the hollow of some oracular oak, uttered her shrill and melancholy cries; the Noble bard, moved by *Jeffrey's* evil genius, wrote the following cauterizing verses.

"Health to immortal *Jeffrey!* once, in name,
England could boast a judge almost the same,
In soul so like, so merciful, yet just,
Some think that Satan had resigned his trust,
And given the spirit to the world again,
To sentence letters, as he sentenced men.
With hand less mighty, but with heart as black,
With voice, as willing to decree the rack;
Bred in the court betimes, though all, that law
As yet hath taught him, is to find a flaw.
Since well instructed in the patriot school!
To rail at party, though a party tool,
Who knows? if chance his patrons should restore
Back to the sway, they forfeited before,
His scribbling toils some recompense may meet,
And raise this *Daniel* to the judgment seat.
Let *Jeffries'* shade indulge the pious hope,
And greeting thus, present him with a rope:
"Heir to my virtues! man of equal mind!
Skill'd to condemn, as to traduce Mankind,
This cord receive! for thee reserv'd with care,
To wield in judgment, and at length to wear."

"Health to great *Jeffrey!* Heaven preserve his life
To flourish on the fertile shores of Fife,

And guard it sacred in his future wars,
 Since authors sometimes seek the field of Mars!
 Can none remember that eventful day,
 That ever glorious, almost fatal fray,
 When *Little's* leadless pistol met his eye,
 And Bow-street myrmidons stood laughing by?
 Oh! day disastrous! on her firm-set rock,
 Dunedin's castle felt a secret shock;
 Dark rolled the sympathetic waves of Forth,
 Low groan'd the startled whirlwinds of the North,
 Tweed ruffled half his waves to form a tear,
 The other half pursued its calm career;
Arthur's steep summit nodded to its base,
 And surly Tolbooth scarcely kept her place;
 The Tolbooth felt, for marble sometimes can,
 On such occasions feel as much as man—
 The Tolbooth felt defrauded of her charms,
 If *Jeffrey* died, except within her arms;
 Nay, last not least, on that portentous morn
 The sixteenth story, where himself was born,
 His patrimonial garret fell to ground,
 And pale Edina shuddered at the sound:
 Strew'd were the streets around with milk-white reams,
 Flowed all the Canon-gate with inky streams;
 This of his candour seemed the sable dew;
 That of his valour show'd the bloodless hue;
 And all with justice deem'd the two combin'd
 The mingled emblems of his mighty mind.
 But Caledonia's goddess hovered o'er
 The field, and saved him from the wrath of *Moore's*,
 From either pistol snatched the vengeful lead,
 And straight restored it to her favourite's head:
 The head, with greater than magnetic power,
 Caught it as Danae caught the golden shower,
 And, though the thickening dross will scarce refine,
 Augments it's ore, and is itself a mine.
 "My son," she cried, "ne'er thirst for gore again,
 Resign the pistol, and resume the pen;
 O'er politics and poesy preside;
 Beast of thy country, and Britannia's guide!"

For long as Albion's heedless sons submit,
Or Scottish taste decides on English wit,
So long shall last thine unmolested reign,
Nor any dare to take thy name in vain.””

What was the consequence of this stinging application to the sensibilities of the redoubtable Reviewer? Learn it from his own words, in a subsequent Review on “Broughton’s Letters from a Mahratta Camp:” October, 1813.

“To publish verses is become a sort of evidence, that a man wants sense: which is repelled not by writing good verses, *but by writing excellent verses;*—*by doing what Lord Byron has done;*—*by displaying talents, great enough to overcome the disgust, which proceeds from satiety, and showing that all things may become new under the reviving touch of genius.”*

Pray, Sir, what do you think, was the reason of this wonderful change? Whence was it, that a Poet, *whose effusions were spread over a dead flat, and could no more get above or below the level than if they had been so much stagnant water,*” all at once *“possessed talents, great enough to overcome the disgust, which proceeds from satiety, and showed that all things may become new under the reviving touch of Genius?”* The answer to these queries is at hand. The Noble Poet had brandished his cat-o'-nine-tails with such force and dexterity, that this descendant of the ancient family feels the tingling to the present hour. Rely upon it, Sir, there was never one of this breed, who could be operated upon, to any valuable purpose, in any other manner. Insolent and abusive, to all other men; barking at every stranger, whom they see; they will instantly drop their ears, and

smooth their shag, at the sight, and peculiarly under the administration, of a switch.

When this man, (I would fain call him a gentleman if I could do it with a clear conscience,) was in the United States, a little while since, having with Mr. *Madison* the reputation of being a thorough-going Jacobin, he was permitted to charter a ship, and return with it to *Europe*: a privilege, repeatedly refused by our liberal minded Government to native *Americans*, of unimpeachable character. On board this ship Col. *Barclay* proposed to send back to their native country a number of *British* prisoners. His right to do this was not disputed by our Champion; but he insisted, that he himself would select the persons. The Consul coolly told him, that this could not be permitted; but that they must be received according to their equitable claims. Our Reviewer replied by way of answer to Col. *Barclay's* declaration; "Sir, I am a man of Consideration in my own country. In my own country, Sir, I am a man of Consideration."

I did not for some time conjecture what was the meaning of this interesting declaration. I knew that our Champion was a lawyer by profession, and thought, that, perhaps he might be a lawyer of some eminence. But Lord *Byron* has said, and it is presumed, that no man, within the reach of his cat-o' nine-tails, will dare to deny it; certainly not our Reviewer—

—————“All, that law
As yet hath taught him, is to find a flaw.”

In this quandary I alighted upon the story of our Reviewer's duel with *Anacreon Moore*, alluded to in

the quotation above; which dispelled my perplexity at once. These two Champions of the quill, it seems, after a most chivalrous rencontre with their proper weapons, and making most formidable discharges of ink at each other, resolved to try their luck with weapons, in the use of which they were not such veterans. Accordingly, they appeared one morning at *Chalk Farm*; each with a brace of pistols. The *Bow-street* officers, having smelt the rat, were on the ground almost as soon, as the champions; and stayed, rudely I presume, all further proceedings. These interlopers had the curiosity to examine the pistols, and found them absolutely *bulletless*. "Now, Sir, it was ‘consideration’ only; (I protest against every suspicion, that it was want of courage;) I say it was ‘consideration’ only, that induced Mr. *Jeffrey* and Mr. *Moore* to fight a duel without bullets.

Thus, Sir, our Reviewer was “a man of Consideration in his own country:” and, had he fought a duel here; he would undoubtedly have been “a man of Consideration,” also, in the United States.

I will close my business with Mr. *Jeffrey*, for the present, by subjoining one more quotation from Lord *Byron*. It is from the Postscript to his “English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.” As Mr. *Jeffrey* has long since determined, that the *Americans* are destitute of genius, he certainly cannot find fault with us for making the best use we can of *British* genius, in our own defence. “My northern friends,” says his Lordship, “have accused me, with justice, of personality towards their great literary Anthropephagus, *Jeffrey*; but what else was to be done with him, and his dirty pack, who feed by ‘lying and slandering,’ and slake their thirst by ‘evil speaking?’ I have stated facts already well

known, and of *Jeffrey's* mind, I have stated my free opinion: nor has he thence sustained any injury. *What scavenger was ever soiled by being pelted with mud?*"

Your next attack, after quoting a paragraph in the *New England Palladium*, advertising a stolen book;* and making a few observations upon the impropriety of garbling editions of your books, and altering some of your plays, so as to suit the *American* taste; is upon the *Language of the United States*. By the way, do none of your countrymen ever steal books? If they do not; and we are to believe "*Colquhoun's Police of London*" and his "*Police of the Thames*," books are the only things, which some or other of them do not steal. Here you accuse us of forming projects to get rid of the *English* language; "not," you say, "merely by barbarizing it, but by abolishing it altogether, and substituting a new language of our own." As specimens, you inform us, that "one person had recommended the adoption of the *Hebrew*; and another, a Scotchman, of the name of *Thornton*, had projected to murder the English orthography by turning the *e* topsy-turvy, dotting the *i* underneath, and adding a few pothooks and ladies, &c." Pray, Sir, do you think this story was worth telling? Do you believe the application of it to the people of the United States just? If not; can you vindicate yourself from the charge of dishonesty in insinuating, that they were concerned in such a project? From you have I first learned the existence of either of those projects: and I presume, that ninety-nine, out of a hundred, and

* Were I to glean the *English* character from the *London* newspapers, by picking out the scandalous articles, it would shame even slander herself to repeat it.

more probably nine hundred and ninety-nine, out of a thousand, *Americans*, never heard of either.

Are there no foolish projects in *Great Britain*? Did not good Bishop *Wilkins* project a scheme to fly? And are there not other Scotchmen, beside *Thornton*, who have acted like fools? Why, because this stupid Scotchman crossed the Atlantic, and had no more sense than to publish these effusions of weakness here, are his silly dreams to be imputed to the people of the United States. We are as little disposed to change our language as you can be.

But you charge us with *making some words, and using others in a peculiar sense*; and recite a short list, belonging to both these classes. Among others the word, *guess*, which has been mentioned by almost every *Englishman*, who has undertaken to criticise on our speech. To the first mention of it, or even the second, or third, I had no objection. The hundredth became wearisome. We use the word, *guess*, exactly as you do; with this single exception; that a moderate number of our vulgar people employ it as a *cant* word; and with full as much propriety, as vulgar *Englishmen*, and not a small number, who would disdain to be reckoned among the vulgar, use *damned* and *devilish*.

But “the President of *Yale College* talks of *a conflagrative brand*, and President *Jefferson*, of *belittling the productions of nature*.” Be it so. The members of your Parliament, on the floor of debate, use the dignified words, *diddled* and *gullibility*.

We *retain some words, which you have dropped*; and you retain some, which we have dropped. We *have made a small number of new ones*. You have made

ten times more. Have not we the same rights in this respect, as you? If we have not; where is the proof?

On this subject you have been *the man*, and we, *the Lion*, in the fable. *The painting*, which is intended to prove your superiority, and our degradation, *has hitherto been done by you*. It is time, that the pencil had changed hands; and that justice should, at least in a single instance, be done to us.

The natives of the city of *London* may be supposed to use *English* as well, at least, as your people at large. Take the following specimens of their English from *Pegge's Anecdotes of the English Language*.

They say

Wulgularity	for	Vulgarity,
Necessuated		Necessitated,
Curoosity		Curiosity,
Unpossible		Impossible,
Leastwise		At least,
Shay		Chaise,
Po-shay		Post chaise,
Aggravate		Irritate,
A conquest (of people)		A concourse,
Commandement		Commandment,
Attackted		Attacked,
Gownd		Gown,
Partender		Partner,
Bachelder		Bachelor,
Obstropolous		Obstreperous,
Argufy		Signify,
Scrupulosity		Scruple,
Common-Garden		Covent-garden,
Pee aches		Piazzas,
Kingsington		Kensington,
Kiver		Cover,

Daater	for	Daughter,
Saace		Sauce,
Saacer		Saucer,
Saacy		Saucy,
Chimly		Chimney,
Perdigious		Prodigious,
Progidy		Prodigy,
Contagious		Contiguous,
For fraid of, instead of		For fear of,
Duberous		Dubious,
Musicianer		Musician,
Squits		Quit,
Pillard		Pilloried,
Scrowdge		Crowd, (the verb.)
Squeedge		Squeeze,
To Anger (a verb)		To make angry.
Whole-tote		The whole,
Vemon		Venom,
Vemonous		Venomous,
Sermont		Sermon,
Verment		Vermin,
Palaretic		Paralytic,
Postes and posteses		Posts,
Sitti-ation		Situation,
Portingal		Portugal,
Somewheres		Somewhere,
Oftens		Often,
Nowheres		Nowhere,
Mislest		Molest,
Scholard		Scholar,
Regiment		Regimen,
Contrāry		Contrary,
Howsomdever		However,
Whatsomdever		Whatever,

Successfully	for	Successively,
Mayoraltry		Mayoralty,
Admiraltry		Admiralty,
Commonality		Commonalty,
Properietor, owner		Proprietor,
Non-plush'd		Non-plus'd,
Unbethought		Recollected,
Discommode		Incommode,
Colleguing.		Colleaguing,
Docity		Docility,
Drownded		Drowned,
Despisable		Despicable,
An-otomy		A Skeleton,
Paragraft		Paragraph,
Stagnated		Stagger'd,
Disgruntled		Offended,
Ruinated		Ruin'd,
Solentary		Solitary,
Ingeniously		Ingenuously,
Eminent danger		Imminent danger,
Intosticated		Intoxicated;
Perwent		Prevent,
Skrimidge		Skirmish,
Refuge		Refuse,
Nisi prii		Nisi prius,
Taters-		Potatoes,
Vocation		Vacation,
Luxurious		Luxuriant,
Loveyer		Lover,
Humourous		Humoursome,
Pottecary		Apothecary,
Nyst and Nyster		Nice, and Nicer,
Clost and Closter		Close, and Closer,
Sinst		Since,

Wonst	for	Once,
Industerous		Industrious,
Sot		Sat,
Frags, i. e.		Fragments,
Character		Character,
Moral		Model,
Jocotious or Jecotious		Jocose,
Hisn, Hern		His, and Her's,
Ourn, Yourn		Ours, and Your's,
The t'other		'The other,
Every·wheres,		
Any·wheres,		
Any·hows,		
Some·hows,		
No·hows,		
Nolus bolus	for	Nolens volens.

Add to these *weal* for veal, *winegar*, wictuals, &c, and *vicked*, *vig*, *vind*, *veather*, &c; *neighbourwood*, *widowwood*, *knightwood*; and a great multitude of others.

Such, Sir, is the language, daily uttered in the Metropolis of *Great Britain*. "But then," says Mr. *Pegge*, "every body understands the meaning of the *Londoners*, and their language is not like *the unintelligible gabble of nine tenths of the provincial inhabitants of the remoter parts of England, which none but the natives can understand*. Bring together two clowns from *Kent* and *Yorkshire*, and I will wager a ducat, that they will not be able to converse, for want of a dialect, common to them both."

Such is the account, which a man perfectly versed in this subject, gives in a letter to a brother Antiquary.

an. Its correctness you will not dispute. How great a part of the *English* nation must speak miserable *English*: For *Yorkshire* and *Kent* are not the only counties, which furnish specimens of unintelligible gabble. Your *West-country dialect* is still worse than those of these two counties.

In the United States there is not, I presume, a descendant of *English* ancestors, whose conversation is not easily, and perfectly intelligible to every other: and nothing like a dialect can be found in this country, unless you call by this name the *German*, *Dutch*, and other foreign languages, still spoken by the Colonists, derived from those nations.

Are you not ashamed, then, with these facts before you, with this barbarous jargon sounding in your ears, whenever you walk through the streets of *London*, and with a full knowledge of the *unintelligible gabble of nine tenths of your provincial inhabitants, in the parts of England remote from London*, to talk with so much parade about *our blunders*? Were you to spend your life in this country, you would be unable to make such a collection, as that which is here given by Mr. *Pegge*: and nothing, remotely resembling the language ascribed by this author to your provincial inhabitants, can be found in this country.

I will now, Sir, proceed to the consideration of one subject more, and will then finish my remarks; and that is the *Reviews published in Great Britain*.

"It would, however, be an act of injustice to our readers," says a judicious writer in the *Picture of London*, published in 1807, "were we to omit to notice in this place the gross abuse of public Confidence, and the imposition on credulity, systematically practised by the *Reviews*, and other anonymous periodical

works, which pretend to give critical opinions on the merit, or demerit, of new Publications.

"While these professed Oracles of literature spoke the language of good manners, and confined their observations to honest remarks on the contents of the books, which they affected to notice, they deserved a qualified portion of public confidence; but the race of Scurrility, in which they have lately begun to emulate each other, and the Insults, which they add respite to the persons, and private characters, of Authors, have rendered them at once a disgrace to the moral character of the country; a gross Abuse of the liberties of the press; a scourge of genius; and a Nuisance to literature."

"On ordinary occasions it would be sufficient, to refute calumny, to state, that the author of it lurked in concealment; but the public have been so long imposed upon by anonymous critics, and anonymous criticism has so long been received without suspicion by the unthinking, that it will be necessary to pursue these Critical Assassins to their Retreats, and to exhibit clear and correct views of the description of persons, among whom they are to be found."

"We shall, in the first instance, mention as a point of fact, which no person can honestly controvert, that every one of the Reviews published, with perhaps not more than a single exception, is the Property, or in the pay, of some Bookseller; and is carried on for the sole purpose of praising all his own Publications, and of damning, and vilifying all those which he considers as interfering with his interests.

"The pretended criticisms, which appear in these anonymous publications, thus improperly and corruptly influenced, are fabricated in some of the following

ways, or under the influence of some of the following abuses.

“1st. *By rival authors*.—Persons, who have themselves written on the subject, treated in a new book, which is to be noticed, being supposed by the conductors of Reviews to understand the point better than mere general scholars, are frequently employed to review works in such circumstances. *This is the best, and perhaps the most impartial, judgment which an author ever obtains;* and a Critique by a writer on the same subject always commands in the arrangement of a Review a place of distinction. It need scarcely be stated, that an author seldom undertakes to write an anonymous critique on a rival publication, who at the same time is not unprincipled enough to vent all his envy and malice against the book, and the person, of his rival; mean enough, also, to quote his own work, with applause; and impudently contrast it with the new one. One, at least, of such articles appears in every Review, that is published; but it generally carries with it characteristic marks of jealousy and alarm, which render it easy to be singled out by readers of ordinary discernment.

“2. *By literary Adventurers, lately arrived in London from the Provinces; or by youths from some Scotch University*.—Young men, who persuade themselves, that their great talents can only have adequate display in the Metropolis, often arrive in *London*, without any honest means of obtaining a livelihood; and, as a first resource, tender their service to some Bookseller, who publishes a Review. Here their stock of Latin and Greek is generally placed in requisition; and, till a more honourable mode of existence presents itself, these striplings hire themselves, at two

or three guineas per printed sheet of 16 pages, to write opinions on all manner of subjects; and *under the mask of the important, and oracular*, “WE” make the credulous part of the public believe them qualified to insult every man of genius and learning in the country.

“3. *By bankrupt Authors; the Inmates of Newgate, the Fleet, and the King’s bench. Half of the anonymous Criticisms, which appear, are written in the Prisons of the Metropolis.* Some Reviews have been solely written, and conducted, by knots of imprisoned critics. No method of supporting existence in confinement is more easy, and more common, than the business of reviewing. It lately happened, that, during several months, *the editors of two rival Reviews chummed together in one room in the Fleet prison*; and by their respective efforts produced two critical journals of great authority among the opposite partizans of Aristocracy and Democracy: The late *Dr. Bisset*, who in the last years of his life had the misfortune to pass several months in the King’s bench prison, boasted to the writer of this article, and to some other friends, that he could produce two sheets, or earn six guineas in a single day by reviewing; and that, as he had interest to obtain the insertion of different articles, relative to the same book, in various reviews, he could rely on an income from these labours of full six guineas per week during his confinement. One of his friends, who was not before in the secret of this trade, exclaimed, “But how can you read the books, Doctor; so as to write two sheets of criticism on them in a day?” “Read the books, man?” said the Doctor; “read them? Why do you think a re-

viewer reads the books? That shewes you know nothing about the matter.”*

“4. *By personal Friends, or Enemies, of the different Authors.*—The system of anonymous reviewing renders every review a masked battery, which is played according to the party of those, who occupy it, either on an Author by his enemies, or on the public by his Friends. Any Author, who stoops to so wretched a degradation, may influence in his own favour every criticism, that appears respecting his work, by Concessions, by Bribery, or by employing some known reviewer to tender his services for the occasion among the various reviews.†

* If any corroboration of this point was requisite, in addition to the statement, which will be found in the note, in page 153, an appeal, at proper opportunities, might be made to those, who have, professionally, a peep in some small degree behind the curtain. A Review is a constant laughing stock in the office, where it is printed. Let any journey-man printer, who has been some months employed on one, tell how many of the books, noticed in it, have passed through his hands, in which, actually, none of the leaves had been cut open, except the very passages to be copied, the table of contents, and the index: or rather, what will be infinitely less troublesome to him, and may be comprised in a very few recollections, let him tell how many were not in that condition. Hence the eternal complaints in Reviews, whenever a volume is published without an index, or a table of contents.

The Reviewers are well acquainted with the remark made by *Pope*,

“*That index learning turns no student pale,
But holds the eel of science by the tail.*”

† A few months ago the writer of these remarks, who has himself played a principal part in this Farce of anonymous criticism, was applied to, on the following occasion, by an old friend, a physician in the west of *England*, who had some time previously published a medical work, of considerable merit and originality. Dr. A. had for several years practised in a large market town; and had secured the confidence of an extensive connexion. A young physician from *Edinburgh*, had lately settled in the same place; who, having previously passed a winter in *London*, had there continued his acquaintance with some young fellow students, who from necessity had engaged themselves, at three guineas per sheet, to write in certain reviews. Dr. A. at the time of finding a competitor in this stripling, was engaged on the last chapter of a work, upon which he had been occupied, at intervals, for many years, and which was published in the following winter. The youth, who on account of the established reputation of Dr. A. had obtained little practice, rejoiced at the announcement of this work, as offering an opportunity, by

"On the contrary, any virulent enemy of an Author may wreak his malice by communicating gratuitous criticisms to the Reviewers; some of whom do not scruple to receive, and insert, such articles from per-

which he might avail himself of his reviewing connexion, so as to write down, and deprecate, the skill and science of Dr. A. He accordingly obtained from one of his friends a promise, that such articles, as he might send up, should be inserted in several of the Reviews. Dr. A. who had for many years unsuspectingly read the Reviews, as authorities not to be questioned, inspected them with particular anxiety after the appearance of his book. At length a number, which contained one of the articles written by his rival, fell in his way: and the worthy physician was overwhelmed with mortification to find himself treated as an Empiric, a Blockhead, and an Hypothesis-monger; as one, whose patients, if he had any, were objects of pity; and who was himself to be pitied for the injury, he had done himself and his family by such an exposure of his ignorance. It will be easier to conceive than to describe the mingled emotions of this worthy man, on finding himself so basely misrepresented; but let the reader imagine the anguish of his feelings, when one of his friends brought in a hand-bill, which had the same morning been circulated through the neighbourhood, containing an extract from this very criticism, and referring to the review, published in *London*, as the authority. He found, that the Apothecary, in connexion with the new Physician, had been very disastrous in this business; but he was too little acquainted with the arcana of anonymous criticism, to suspect who might be the author. Like an ingenuous man of letters, he printed a reply: but this only made his case the worse; for the dark insinuations, and the broad and coarse assertions, of his concealed opponent were too strong, and too operative on the minds of those who read them, to be repelled by cool argument, and by the ordinary language of a well educated gentleman. In the mean time a literary friend of the Doctor's, who knew something of the profligacy of criticism, convinced him, that the article respecting his book was the production of some enemy; and that it would probably meet with similar treatment in some of the other Reviews, if he did not exert himself to prevent it. It was therefore determined as the surest plan to avoid the mischief, that the Doctor should visit the Metropolis, and through the means of his friends there, obtain an introduction to the proprietors, and publishers, of the Reviews. The first place, he drove to, was the house of the narrator of these facts; and they spent two days in searching for, treating, and bribing, the hirelings, who write for, or superintend, those journals. The result was, that the Doctor obtained permission to send such accounts of his book, as might be written by himself, or his immediate friends. The Doctor was now satisfied that the former article had been the production of some enemy; and, though his soul revolted at the task, he had undertaken, yet his endeavour to defeat the malice of such a wretch stimulated him to proceed. In the course of the inquiry it appeared, that one of the new Reviews was already in possession of an article, relative to the Doctor's book; and that the writer had treated it with great severity. This information afforded a clue for the discovery of the party; but the wary editor could not be prevailed upon to shew the manuscript; nor to promise, that it should not be printed. The Doctor invited him to dinner at his hotel; treated him sumptuously; and, after the bottle had been freely circulated, the article was sent for: when, after what has been stated, the reader will not be surprised at

sons wholly unknown to them; and instances have occurred, in which with unblushing profligacy the receipt of such anonymous criticisms has been thankfully acknowledged through the public Newspapers.

"5. By the Authors becoming their own Reviewers; It may be affirmed without the hazard of denial, that *in every number of (a) Review, that is published, there is at least one article, written by an Author on his own work.* As such criticisms never cost any thing; their insertion may frequently be obtained by a suitable application of the Author, or his friends. The proprietor himself, will, under certain circumstances, receive these full and able notices; but more commonly their admission is secured by the person, to whom the examination of the book has been assigned. The article itself values, in account with the proprietor, at a certain number of pounds, shillings, and pence; and is thought by a hungry reviewer to be a good hit; especially if accompanied by a bank note, or an invitation to dinner.

*"6. By traders in Criticism.—*In London there are persons, who probably gain as much by composing separate critiques for all the Reviews on the same book, as the author who wrote it. A man of this description is generally a smatterer in some particular art, or science; and, when a new book appears on his subject, if he be not applied to by the different conductors of Reviews, he generally tenders his services, which are learning, that the hand writing was that of the young physician, who had for some time been the Doctor's insidious rival in the country. The manuscript was confided to the Doctor, on his promising to furnish another article of equal length gratis; and undertaking to pay for fifty of the —— Review, for three months to come, which he was to circulate, and recommend, in his county. On his return home, the Doctor's solicitor immediately commenced a course of legal proceedings against the young Scotchman, who, finding that he was in the Doctor's power, agreed to leave that county, on their being discontinued.

always accepted with thanks. Thus *one and the same person assumes a dozen Identities*; and by varying his language and opinions, so as to meet the character, the views, and the party, of each of his employers, *he praises, and censures, and blows hot and cold, in the same instant.* Or perhaps a book of high price, or of considerable bulk, and erudition, makes its appearance; of which, at the common price of three or four guineas per sheet, a critic, who would live by his trade, could not repay himself for the cost, and for the labour of perusal, by a single criticism: he therefore accommodates various accounts of it to the passions, and parties, of the several Reviews; and thus the labours of the whole life of some learned and ingenious authors are wholly at the mercy of this wholesale dealer in criticism; perhaps an unprincipled and malicious character; who, if known to the world, would be the last man living, whose opinion would be received as an authority on this, or any other subject whatever.

"7. *By Contracting Critics, Master Critics, or those who review by the lump.*—Several of the reviews, to save trouble to the proprietors and publishers, are undertaken, or contracted for, by one person, at so much per sheet; and this man stands engaged either to write the entire Review himself, or to get it written by others. *Delegations, two or three deep, are very common in this species of criticism.* The contracting critic receives, himself, perhaps after the rate of seven guineas per sheet; but in paying his journeymen for occasional aid he gives but three or four guineas. *The journeyman too employs a species of labourer, whose province it is to skim the book, prepare the general heads of the analysis, mark the extracts, &c. &c.:* a business which is paid for by the job, or according to the size of the book.

“8. *By the profligate Calculations of the conductors.*—It is a maxim, which is constantly acted upon in the management of a Review, *that it will not please all palates, unless it be well seasoned*; or, in the technical language of the reviewing craft, “*The Review will not sell, unless a sufficient number of authors, and their books, be regularly cut up.*” It becomes, therefore, part of the ordinary business of every conductor to take care, that *there is no deficiency of Sauce*; and to engage a few *Miscreants, well versed in the language of Billingsgate.* Accordingly, then, to the degree of honour and feeling, possessed by the conductor, or as the Review is falling or rising, in sale, it will be arranged, whether *the proportion of half, a third, or a quarter, of the books, noticed in every number, are to be vilified.* This direct ratio between the fall in sale, and scurrility of language; and between the rise in sale, and decency of language; furnishes data, by which any person may, by counting the articles of each Character, calculate at any time the Healthiness, or the Decrepitude of any Review.

“9. *By the superficial view, which the hired, and anonymous, critic takes of the books, of which he gives an opinion.*—It is a fact, which will startle some readers of these observations, but which a little attention will confirm, that *the persons who write the Monthly Catalogue in most of the Reviews, do not see half the books, which they characterize; but write their flippant notices, solely from the advertisements in the newspapers.* The present or former conductors of certain reviews, may blush to see this “secret of their prison-house” go forth to the world; *but the writer pledges himself to give names, and other particulars, if the fact, to the extent he has stated, should be contradicted.* Let any person turn over the Monthly

Catalogue of various Reviews for a few months, and he will not fail to be struck with the imposition, which has been practised on him; by observing that much above half of the silly Paragraphs, which are appended to the titles of Pamphlets, and of the other works in this part, would apply with as much propriety to most other articles in the list, as to those to which they are assigned. This is so palpable, that no more need be urged to prove the existence of this flagrant abuse of the name of Criticism. It may, however, be worth while to explain, that, as reviewers are paid by the sheet, at the rate of three, four, five, or six guineas per sixteen pages, according to their professional capacity, and experience; and, as the articles in the Monthly Catalogue seldom exceed a few lines each, these would not produce, on an average, more than eighteen pence, or two shillings, a piece; and sometimes not half of the smallest of these sums. It is absurd, therefore, to suppose, that, if Reviewers mean to gain a livelihood, they take the trouble to read, or even to seek, such unproductive trash.*

* A picture from the life will illustrate this abuse better than a multitude of observations. A principal Reviewer, possessed of more learning than prudence, had been surrendered by his bail to the custody of the Marshal of the Fleet. From one of the Attics of that Dormitory of disappointed enterprise, he addressed himself to his old Friend, the bookseller in Paternoster-row; who, knowing his talents, and fearing his resentment if neglected, sent a packet of eight or ten new publications for the next month's Review. The Critic, who always composed through the medium of an Amanuensis, caused an inquiry for one to be made in the prison; and presently a young man was enlisted in his service, who was not devoid of intelligence, but hitherto a total stranger to the Mysteries, in which he was speedily to be initiated. He seated himself with his pen in his hand; when the Reviewer untied the parcel of books; and, taking up a handsome Quarto, read the title page; and, giving the volume to the Amanuensis, desired him to copy the title. While this was performing, he took several turns in the room; and, having two or three times asked impatiently whether the title was finished, he ordered the Amanuensis to write. He then dictated an opening paragraph of considerable length; in which he abused without mercy the self-conceit of the Author in supposing himself qualified for such an undertaking; enumerated the attempts, that had been made by various other Persons in the same species of writing; ascribed this Work to overweening Vanity, &c. &c. The Amanuensis was struck

"Accordingly, the fact is, that this department of the review is committed *to persons, kept on the establishment*, as the manufacturing expression is; who are paid a small monthly allowance, (four or five guineas,) for executing it; which is divided among them, if more than one are employed; and is issued regularly, in weekly portions, by the bookseller, every Monday morning; being then frequently sent to some gaol,

with surprise: for he perceived that not a leaf of the book had been opened; and was sensible, that the Dictator had not, till that moment, seen the work. He was however staggered in this supposition, when he again heard himself commanded "to write as follows:—"The ensuing passages alone will satisfy our readers of the justice of these conclusions; but if we chose to multiply examples of presumption and absurdity, we could fill our number with the dull conceits of this blockhead!" The Reviewer now took up the volume, to seek for the passages, which were to answer this pre-judication, turned over its preface rapidly, and muttered: "*This fellow's determined to give one all the trouble, he can—No contents I see!—Index perhaps? Nor that neither!—Dies hard; but must be damned for all that.*"—He then angrily turned over the leaves from beginning to end; read the heads of some of the chapters; and at length exclaimed, "Yes, I have it. Write, Sir. Begin page 273, "At the same instant, that," to 278, at "hitherto proceeded." Now with the rapidity of lightning opening the volume further on, "Write," he resumed, "This opinionated gentleman, not satisfied with differing from every writer, who has preceeded him, from *Aristotle* to *Rousseau*, has chosen to refute all his own doctrine by the following whimsical positions. Peace to his spirit! We hope never to wade through such another Augean stable; but long-suffering is the lot of our fraternity.—Begin page 417, "with this view," to page 420, at "broad basis." And again, page 432, "It is well known," to page 435, at "indispensably necessary." We should have pitied the unfortunate publisher who ignorantly embarked his money in this wretched performance, if the fellow had not the impudence to fix the price of three half guineas on a volume, which, *after a patient examination, we can pledge ourselves, is not worth three farthings.*" Thus ended the Review of this work, which has since passed through several Editions; and *the time, spent in this fatiguing and patient investigation, was exactly twenty-five minutes.*

The Reviewer now took up the next book; which he praised as extravagantly, as he had abused the other; and thus proceeded through the parcel, cutting open not more than twenty pages of the whole, and praising, and damning, as his Caprice, or some secret Feeling, suggested; or just as it seemed to suit the humour of the moment. *The time, spent in thus characterizing, in dogmatical and vehement language, two Quartos, five Octavos, two Duodecimos, and two Pamphlets, was about two hours and half!* The Amanuensis, on turning afterwards to the highly reputed Review, in which these elaborate criticisms were displayed, found, that *they occupied one third of the Number!* He declined any further participation in so disgraceful an employment, and has since communicated the above facts to various persons, and among others to the writer of these remarks.

like the creditors' sixpences, which become due on that day; or given to some of the upper assistants in the booksellers' shops, who are sometimes employed at this business in their spare hours. Such being a correct description of the persons, and the practices, of those who write anonymous criticisms, is it to be wondered at, that these people uniformly deny their craft; and that a greater insult cannot be offered to one of these pioneers of Grubstreet, than to insinuate, that he writes for any review? Not only is the practice disavowed by the whole fraternity, but if you knew a man to be a scribbler in reviews, and were to ask if he wrote an article, in itself meritorious, he would deem even this an insult, never to be forgiven! It is true that some reviewers are well known: but these are generally either young in the trade, and not yet acquainted with the infamy, attached to it; or coxcombs, whose vanity supersedes every other feeling. Boys at school, and half informed people in the country, consult these oracles with so much unsuspecting credulity, that a Stripling from a *Scotch University*, who is admitted to perform the lowest offices in these Temples of Imposition, considers himself as having become part of the Godhead, and gives himself Airs accordingly.*

"There is, however, one class of men, who give occasional countenance to Reviewers without intending the mischief, which they thus assist in perpetrating. These are certain vain Pedants at our Universities; who, knowing little of the world, consider Reviews as exactly what they appear to be; and having no readier means of displaying their knowledge of particular sub-

* A certain *Northern Review* is now written chiefly in *London* by young men who have but just finished their attendance on their University Lectures; and the oldest of them is said not to exceed five and twenty years of age.

jects are often flattered by having some abstruse Work committed to them by the conductor of the Review. Tickled by this kind of compliment, they cannot conceal it from certain intimates, who circulate the fact in the university, that Dr. —— writes for the —— Review; and thus half the world are led to suppose, that Reviews are written *con amore*, by men of real honour and learning Professors in universities ought to beware of thus becoming the dupes of their vanity, by enlisting themselves *among a race of impostors, as base and unprincipled as ever disgraced society.* Their names, and their talents, ought to be reserved for worthier purposes, than that of giving countenance to *hired, and anonymous defamation.*

Conclusion. The obvious inference from all, that has been stated, is this; that the great Vice of Reviewing exists in the concealment of the Writers; and that, while anonymous Criticism is tolerated, it is impossible even for a conductor, who is a man of integrity, to guard against its corruptions, and its abuse.

A learned and gentlemanly Critic would be able, though he signed his name to his criticism, to perform ample justice to an author, and the public. *He could not adopt the impertinent, arrogant, and boasting style of the present contemptible race of Anonymous Reviewers;* but his Inferences and Opinions, would be received with Respect; the Public would be enlightened; and Error and Imposition would be corrected and exposed. Authors could assure themselves, *that their books were seen, and read, before they were decided upon,* and the public would appreciate justly the value of a decision, thus made, and thus guaranteed.

“Those, who contend that Critics, under such a system, dare not do their duty, either do not understand what is meant by the word Criticism; or do not con-

sider what was the object of Reviews. Our essayists, from *Addison* to *Cumberland* and *Knox*, afford specimens of criticism, such as no Man could have cause to disown, and such as would always be received with avidity by the public. *True literary Criticism in the hands of real Scholars is the opposite of every thing, that characterizes our modern Reviewers;* it never searches for personal anecdotes of Authors, or confounds in its Disquisitions his Foibles, or Weaknesses, with the merits of his performance; it never magnifies blemishes, shuts its eye to beauties, becomes the tool of a party, either political or literary, misquotes, delights in abusive and violent epithets, or arrogates its own infallibility! It is, in a word, a liberal science, which no honest Man need be ashamed to exercise and avow; but in the hand of *a concealed assassin it may be, (and unfortunately is,) converted to the most destructive and diabolical purposes.* True Criticism, like Charity, "suffereth long and is kind; envieth not; vaunteth not itself; is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not her own; (is not selfish;) is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth."

"Yet as the vice exists chiefly in the anonymous character of the system, the moral views of the Conductor of every Review are not intended to be called in question. *One or two of those gentlemen are known to be men of character;* who would not wilfully participate in the grosser Abuses of the reviewing trade: but those Abuses are too inherent in the system to be successfully guarded against; and as these gentlemen must be perfectly sensible of this Truth, *it is a Duty which they owe to the world, to affix the names of those, who write in their critical journals, to their respective articles,* in order that the public may pos-

sess the only Guarantee, which can be given of the candour and integrity of such Writers; and also that their journals may secure a continuance of that Confidence and Support, which *has hitherto been unthinkingly, and ignorantly, reposed in them.*"*

"The author of the preceding statement of facts thinks it proper to add, that in drawing it up he has been solely actuated by a love of truth, a hatred of Imposture, and a sense of duty to the literary world, and the public. No honourable or conscientious Reviewer (though the writer believes that few men of that character can long continue the employment of writing anonymous opinions on others,) will be offended at this just exposition of the misconduct of those, who abuse their office. He hopes to live to see a reformation in the system; and that, if a respectable and independent body of literary characters cannot be persuaded to

* "Next in importance to the newspapers are the works of periodical criticism, which are here called *Reviews*. Of late years it has become impossible to place any reliance upon the opinions, given by these journals; because their party spirit now extends to every thing. Whatever be the object of a book, though as remote as possible from all topics of political dissention, it is judged of according to the politics of the author: for instance, one of these journals has pronounced it to be jacobinical to read Hebrew without points. There are other reasons, why there is so little fair criticism. Many, perhaps the majority, of these literary censors, are authors themselves; and as such in no very high estimation with the public. Baboons are said to have an antipathy to men; and *these, who are the baboons of literature, have the same sort of hatred to those, whose superiority they at once feel and deny.* You are not, however, to suppose, that the general character of these journals is that of undeserved severity: they have as many to praise as to blame; and their commendations are dealt upon the same principle, or want of principle, as their censures. England is but a little country; and the communication between all its parts is so rapid, the men of letters are so few, and the circulation of society brings them all so often to London, as the heart of the system, that they are all directly, or indirectly, known to each other. A writer is praised because he is a friend, or a friend's friend; or he must be condemned for a similar reason. *For the most part the praise of these critics is milk and water, and their censure sour small beer.* Sometimes, indeed, they deal in stronger materials; but then *the oil, which flattery lays on, is train oil, and it stinks: and the dirt which Malevolence throws, is ordure; and it sticks to her own fingers.*" *Espriella.* Letter 56.

If Mr. Southey wrote the Review of *Inchiquin*, I request him to read this passage in *Espriella* with attention.

sanction a Review by their names, *the public contempt of anonymous and systematic scurrility* will render it harmless and unprofitable."

How greatly are mankind indebted to this frank, honest-hearted writer for these disclosures; for opening to the day-light this den of *Cacus*; and exhibiting the deformed beings which it contains; the robberies, which they perpetrate upon the reputation, the peace, and the principles of their fellow men; the foul spirit, by which they are governed; and the fire and smoke poured out upon the world by these collections of banditti. What a story are we told, when we are informed by this Writer, that we are indebted to *bankrupts*, and *inmates of Newgate, the Fleet, and King's Bench prisons* for half the anonymous criticisms, that is, for half of all, which is contained in the *Reviews, published in Great Britain*; and that some whole *Works*, under this name, have been solely written and conducted by knots of imprisoned critics: a set of scoundrels, whom the Justice of your country has driven from among mankind, and confined by bolts and grates. From such wretches what could a sober man expect but just such *Reviews*, as those, with which Great Britain deluges the world? I do not deny, that among these efforts there are now and then specimens of talents, and in a few instances of superior talents; but those of candour, common honesty, and common decency are lamentably rare. Amid all the base reflections, cast upon the people of the United States, for their destitution of understanding, and worth, in these dirty-minded effusions of spite and ribaldry, there is not one, half so humiliating, as the fact, that the *Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews* are republished in this country.

Among the remarkable things, for which the world is indebted to this Writer, the information that *these dictators in the empire of learning and taste do not even read the books* which they professedly review. “*Read the books, man?*” said Dr Bisset to his friend; “*read them? Why do you think that a Reviewer* reads the books? That shews, that you know nothing about the matter.” I hope my own countrymen will remember, that the accounts, so magisterially given in these receptacles of folly and falsehood concerning the various works, which they hash with so little decency, are given without reading the works themselves; sentences, pronounced before the cause is argued, the witnesses heard, or the prisoner even known, by a Jury, packed, bought, and perjured. How different from all this are the fair, upright, and gentlemanly, Reviews, published in the *Christian Observer*.

In the mean time, a great part of these efforts are, it seems, *the panegyrics of the personal friends, or the invectives of the personal enemies, of the different authors reviewed.* “Any author, who will stoop to so wretched a degradation, *may influence in his own favour every criticism, that appears respecting his work, by concessions, and by bribery.*” These volumes of iniquity are, therefore, partly made up of the despicable flattery of Toad-eaters, and partly of the snaky virulence of anonymous hatred, pouring out its vindictive malice from the burrow, in which it has hidden itself from the public eye.

But this is not all. *The author himself becomes his own Reviewer.* “It may be affirmed,” says this respectable Writer, “without the hazard of denial, that in every number of a Review, that is published, *there is at least one article, written by an author on his own Work.*” Proh pudor! A pretty employment, in-

deed, for a decent man to peruse a series of panegyrical observations upon a book, and to learn in the end, that they are the miserable, dishonest self-adulation of the author!

Nor is this all. These literary journals are conducted, to a considerable extent, *by traders in Criticism; who compose separate Critiques on the same book, for different Reviews; praise and blame alternately; blow hot and cold with the same mouth, and at the same instant; and, if known to the world, would be the last men living, whose opinion would be received as an authority on any subject whatever.*

Even all this is not enough. At all events, “*the Review is to be well seasoned, and will not sell, unless a sufficient number of authors, and their works, are cut up.*” Every conductor, it seems, as a part of his ordinary business “*takes care, that there is no deficiency of sauce; and engages a few miscreants, who are well versed in the language of Billingsgate.*” You, Sir, have the honour of being supposed to be the Patron of a Review. Permit me to ask how many of these miscreants you have engaged; or, if you have not engaged them, and this part of the business is done by a *conductor under your patronage* (as from your character, and station, I own I am induced to believe,) does it not seem to you, that it is time, that these miscreants were dismissed from their employment; at least that they should fight no longer behind your shield?

A considerable portion of the criticism, published in these Journals, is usually made up in a batch, styled *the Monthly Catalogue.* In the books named in this list, we are informed, “*the Reviewers do not even see one half.*” This, indeed, is only of a piece with the rest, and after what has been said demands no peculiar censure.

What a picture is here given of the literary Journals of *Great Britain*? for the *Edinburgh Review* is plainly included in the author's list, by the note, which he has added concerning it; and has too many internal proofs of belonging to this foul mass, to suffer a rational doubt of the justice of the inclusion. The whole story wears every mark of truth. The particularity, with which the iniquitous system is detailed, and the accordance of the several parts with each other, bear strong testimony to the truth of the representation. Besides, the Writer has openly defied a contradiction to his statement, and has promised, in answer to it, to give names, and other particulars. But no individual of this motley tribe has thought it proper to venture upon such dangerous ground. Until this shall be done, the account is to be admitted as true; and those, who are stigmatized by it, whether in prison, or out of it, are to be regarded as a despicable clan of marauders on the principles, the peace, and the happiness, of their fellow men.

Now, Sir, permit me to ask to which of these classes the Reviewer of *Inchiquin's Letters* belongs. Is he "a literary Adventurer, lately arrived in London from the Provinces; or a Youth from some Scotch University?" Is he a "Bankrupt; an Inmate of the King's Bench, of the Fleet, or of Newgate?" Is he "a trader in Criticism; a Contracting critic; a Master critic;" who employs journeymen and apprentices in his business; one of those, "who review by the lump?" Is he "a Miscreant, well versed in the language of Billingsgate;" "a disgrace to the moral character of his country, and a nuisance to literature?" Or has he passed through all these gradations; rolled on through the slough of scandal; and contracted continually more and deeper stains of baseness and prof-

ligacy? I will leave it to you, Sir, to answer these questions.

The remarks, which I have proposed to make on this shameful production are finished. Indulge me now in a few observations concerning the system of contempt, and abuse, so generally pursued by *English* travellers in this country, and reviewers in *Great Britain*.

Let me ask you in the first place, "*Cui bono erit?*" This question is with particular propriety addressed to you, Sir; a man of talents, a professed patriot, and a statesman. This writer asserts, that the *Americans* indulge an intense hatred towards *Great Britain*. Whence is the assertion derived? Is the proof found in the war, which our Government has declared against yours? That our Government, independently of this act, is hostile to yours, there can be no reasonable doubt, if by our Government we understand *Mr. Madison* and his minions. But even *they* did not declare war on this ground. *Mr. Madison* wanted a re-election. The *Georgians* wanted to lay hold on the *Floridas*, that they might no longer be an asylum for their runaway slaves. The people of Tennessee wanted to get possession of the river *Mobile*. Those of *Kentucky* wanted to possess themselves of *Indian* lands; and those of *Ohio* wished to be delivered from the fear of savage incursions. The people of *Virginia* wished to preserve the reigning *Dynasty*, and to keep the throne in the regular *Virginian* succession. By all these, or by the *leaders* of all these, it was announced to *Mr. Madison*, as I verily believe, that, unless he would consent to the war, they would withhold from him their suffrages. In the mean time their great friend, the Emperor *Napoleon*, was expected to drive *Alexander* from his throne, and to overrun Rus-

sia with *French* Myrmidons. The Continental system was to be carried into complete execution: *Great Britain* was to supplicate, and, if possible, obtain, peace from the *French* Emperor: and then all these sorts of men were to see themselves in full possession of their wishes.

But a just and merciful God has frustrated the designs of them all. The whole project was iniquitous, and has been blasted. The Emperor *Alexander* triumphed over the monstrous force which invaded his country. The Duke of *Wellington* has delivered *Spain* and *Portugal*. The allies have redeemed Europe. Great Britain, at the end of a twenty-two years war, during a great part of which she has stood as a barrier against the ruin of the world, and has acquired more glory than she could ever boast before, sees herself in full possession of all her power and greatness. Even France, after suffering miseries which defy computation, and leave the mind, which attempts to comprehend them, lost in astonishment, is placed under a free and equitable system of government; and henceforth may, if she pleases, be happy. In all this I, and millions of my countrymen, rejoice.

But there is nothing in the *American* part of this story, which indicates any thing like a national hatred of *Great Britain*. Every part of it is a spot on our character, so far as we have been concerned in it: but the shame rests, chiefly, on a number of men, not very great; who have cheated into the adoption of it another number, which, I acknowledge, is much greater.

Your Reviewer is perfectly aware, that the people of the United States are divided into two great political parties, spread almost evenly over the whole country. The Federalists, who are a decided majority in sev-

en, if not in eight States, and are numerous in most of the others, totally exceed their antagonists in wealth, talents, reputation, and virtue. These men are, in this country, continually reproached by the Democrats for being friends to *Great Britain*. The charge is false in the sense, in which it is alleged: in a higher and more honourable sense it is true. While they are incomparably better friends to their own country than the authors of the charge, they are firmer, and better friends to yours, than any equal collection of men in the world, not included in your own dominions. They have most cordially wished you success in your contest with the enemy of mankind, and exult in your final victory. Your unjust, and unwise, measures towards this country; (for you have entered into many such measures;) they censure firmly: our injustice, and folly, towards you they reprobate still more severely, because they are more gross. But, while they know, that it is their first political duty to promote the prosperity of their own country, it will require a train of injuries, on your part, to make them hostile, or even indifferent, to that of *Great Britain*.

Yet, it is undoubtedly possible by a series of efforts, suited to the purpose, to fritter away the good will of any man, or any nation, towards any other. In private life, contempt and ill nature will usually accomplish this end within a moderate period. No alienations are more absolute than such, as are produced by these means. The sting may be extracted, but the poison will be left behind, and will there rankle for a time, to which limits cannot be easily assigned. This ill nature, this contempt, have been poured upon the *American* people for several years in torrents of abuse and falsehood. Many of the publications, in which they run, are issued again from our

presses: and many more have been imported. Both are extensively read with answering contempt, and strong feelings of indignation. If you wish us to be your enemies, proceed. The task to a spirit of bitterness will be easy; and the success certain.

The question is, however, worth a little candid and sober consideration; what will you gain by establishing a firm and enduring hostility between the people of *Great Britain* and the people of the United States? Will you promote a single interest of your own country? *Commerce* is one of its interests; the importance of which you announce to the world in almost all your laws, political regulations, and political books. On commerce a great part of your people subsist. For injuries done to your commerce many of your wars have been declared.

Some of your people have been disposed to consider us *as commercial rivals*. This opinion is built, not upon truth and good sense, but upon jealousy and avarice. The world is wide enough to furnish commercial prosperity to every nation, which will seek it with industry, enterprise and perseverance: and both you and we may labour in this field, to the utmost, with every honest exertion, without doing or suffering a single injury. A little expansion of views, united with a little equity of disposition, would teach this truth to any man capable of comprehending the subject. A war, of one year, may easily injure your commerce more than twenty years of our rivalry. War between you and us, on this ground, is of exactly the same nature with a litigation between two brothers concerning their patrimony; which, while it produces alienation, hatred and wretchedness, wastes the very property, about which they quarrel.

But there is another view of this subject, not less important to you, and more easily realized by eager and avaricious men. *We are the best customers, which you have or which you can have.* We have been so long habituated to the use of your manufactures, that we steadily prefer them to those of any other people. Our commerce with your dominions has amounted, regularly, to two thirds, or three fourths, and always to more than half, of our whole trade. Cherish it with a spirit of moderation and equity, and this proportion will not be diminished. Persecute us for a season; and it will be soon shrivelled far towards annihilation.

If proofs of this assertion are necessary; the present state of our Manufactures furnishes such as are ample. These, according to the returns, made to the Secretary of the Treasury in 1810, are estimated at more than one hundred and seventy two millions of dollars. From that period they have increased, not only beyond all example, but all belief. You may judge for yourself. All the manufactures in the State of *Rhode Island* amounted, according to this estimate, only to \$176,074 dollars. In 1814, the Cotton manufactures of this State produced cotton goods, of the value of 8,500,000 dollars. An increase of manufactures, of many kinds, though not equally yet very great, has spread over most of this country. Many of the products of these labours are not inferior to any, of the same kinds, which are imported. This is true of *our best Cloths*: a manufacture, which has already been extended, and is now extending with a rapidity, exceeding even the sanguine expectation of projectors. The *Merino sheep*, which have multiplied here with very great success, and which, instead of depreciating, improve in our pastures, furnish a solid basis for the perpetuity of our manufacturing establishments, of this

class. Others, of many kinds have been increased with similar rapidity and similar success.

A moderate period of time, spent in mutual provocations and hostilities, will detach the people of this country from their habits of using British manufactures, and rivet their attachment to their own. When it is remembered, that this country abounds, or may easily abound, in materials of almost every kind for the exercise of manual ingenuity; that we have wood, iron, leather, wool, cotton, flax, hemp, grain, tobacco, salt-petre, sulphur, dying materials, all the kinds of earths, and every useful species of stone; particularly, immense quantities, and very beautiful varieties, of marble; that silk is already made here in considerable quantities, as easily, and of as good a quality, as in *Italy*; that mines of various metals are discovered almost every year; that we have mill-streams, sufficiently numerous to supply water-works of every kind for several such countries; that we have invented, and adopted, many modes of abridging labour, and that every such mode is a benefit to the whole community, without being injurious to a single individual; and that we have sufficient capital, ingenuity, enterprise, and perseverance, to carry into execution every thing of this nature, which can be of importance to our prosperity: when these things are remembered by a discreet Englishman, he will believe without much difficulty, that we shall soon find both our interests, and our prejudices, advantageously consulted by preferring the fruits of our own labour even to those of British industry.

There is another point of view, in which the importance of these considerations is still more strongly illustrated. In the year 1810, the people of the United States amounted to more than seven millions. In

twenty five years they will amount to fourteen millions: at least they have hitherto increased in this proportion. In twenty five years, therefore, our consumption of your manufactures, if the natural course of things should be uninterrupted, will be double. In fifty years it will be quadrupled. In seventy five, we shall take off all the superfluous products of your industry. Such a source of custom was never before opened to any nation in the world. It will be unwise in your Statesmen to promote, either in your people, or in ours, any dispositions, or any efforts, which may prevent, or seriously disturb, a progress of things, of which you may avail yourselves with so much ease, and so much benefit.

The Returns, which we make for your manufactures, are more useful to you than any other. They are either money, or raw materials, on which the industry of your people is to operate; essential to their prosperity, and even to their support; furnished on better terms than you could obtain them elsewhere, many of them inexhaustible; and some of them not otherwise attainable without a considerable sacrifice. Were the decision of this question left to a sober merchant, common sense would teach him irresistibly, that a voluntary relinquishment of such advantages would be little less than lunacy.

You will perhaps reply, that the causes of such an event lie with us, and not with you. As proof, that the assertion is just, you will probably allege the measures of our Government, and particularly its declaration of war against you. I readily allow, that the allegation is plausible, and that to an *Englishmen* it may very naturally appear decisive. Still it is unsound: and if you and your countrymen understood the real state of things on this side of the Atlantic, you

would acknowledge it to be unsound. Mr. *Jefferson* and Mr. *Madison* are unquestionably hostile to *Great Britain*. Their measures have proved this so clearly, that to doubt it would be an insult to one's own understanding, and to question it, to the understanding of others. But they have been less hostile to you than to us: and a conviction of this truth has spread very far among their own adherents. Except the Missions of *Pike*, *Lewis*, and *Clark*, to explore the *Mississippi* and *Missouri*, there is not a single measure originated by either, during the fourteen years of their reign, which has reflected the least credit upon their character, or produced the least benefit to the United States. Mr. *Jefferson*, indeed, sent a fleet, which he truly styled "the least competent force," to humble the insolence of the Bashaw of *Tripoli*: but had not *Preble* and *Eaton* transcended his orders, and with an elevation of character, of which he never formed a conception, accomplished what he never intended, nor believed to be possible; the Bashaw would have laughed at Mr. *Jefferson*, and continued his depredations on our commerce, and our seamen, to the present hour. The truth is; Mr. *Jefferson*, though possessed of considerable ingenuity, and a good deal of cunning, is absolutely destitute of wisdom, as well as of principle; of that sound, practical good sense, which alone has ever been of any use to mankind in the management of either their public or their private affairs. Of Mr. *Madison* it is enough to say, that, without the cunning of his Master, he has humbly trodden in his steps. If the art of governing consisted in originating, or defending, abstract propositions, or general principles, Mr. *Madison* would not have been without his share of reputation among rulers. But as it actually consists in the exercise of practical good sense

and skill in the business of man, directed, as well as prompted, by a public, and not a party, spirit; no niche will ever be furnished for his reception among respectable men of this character.

Still, they have been useful instructors to the *American* people. Mr. *Jefferson* has taught us, that Infidelity is an unprofitable spirit, and cunning an unprofitable guide, in the management of national interests. Mr. *Madison*, as well as his Master, has strongly exhibited the visionary nature of theoretical speculations in the public concerns of mankind. From both, also, have we learned, that far other moral dispositions, than such as are possessed by these gentlemen, are necessary in the Ruler, who is to do good to his country. Mr. *Jefferson* found this country, as he says, "*in the full tide of successful experiment:*" under his administration, and that of his successor, these overflowing waters have all receded, and left their channel bare.

But we shall not always be ruled by such men, as these. Their measures have already wearied the confidence, and nearly exhausted the patience, even of party spirit, blind and bigoted as it is. Like other nations we shall, at times, have good Rulers: and the community will in the end, like other communities, vibrate back to sobriety and common sense. The present generation of *Americans* may not, indeed, cease to be politically infatuated: the next will see all these things in their true light; and be astonished, that they were not thus seen by their fathers. They will discern, from the experiment, which we have made, what half of the existing generation perfectly understood before, that *the United States have not, and cannot have, any possible interest in making an offensive war; that neither their situation, nor the nature of their government, permit them to engage in such a*

war; and that all their prosperity is involved in the continuance of peace. These truths every *impartial American* has long since understood; and they are now extensively believed even by prejudice itself.

The present war, therefore, and the present Rulers, furnish no solid evidence, that even our Government will be permanently hostile to yours; much less that the Nation will feel this hostility.

The character of your nation is well understood on this side of the Atlantic. By a great part of the people of the United States full justice is done to your talents and your worth, your institutions and your efforts. We know, that you are a great nation, and have achieved distinguished glory in many ways, and those of supreme importance. But we do not think, *that you have any knack at making friends.* You form too high an estimate of your own importance to suffer you to be agreeable to others; loftily claim the respect, which other nations solicit; and receive it as a tribute, where other nations receive it as a proof of civility. In their books, and in their conversation, *Englishmen* are, more than any people, busied in comparing themselves with other nations, and whatever is contained in *England* with the same or similar things, found in other countries. The result of this comparison is almost always in favour of themselves, and of whatever is theirs. Their climate, their soil, their weather, their productions, their talents, their institutions, their religion, their church, their manners, their morals, are all better than the same things in any other country. *They, only,* are clean, and neat, in their persons, and houses. *They, only,* have good beef. Their peaches, under a half frosty sun, are better than those of the United States, with all the advantages which the finest seasons can give; and a Scotchman, rioting on the

rich fruits of this country, will gravely inform you, that *they are not so gude, as those, which grow in the garden of the Duke of Argyle.* American apples are exported to England in great quantities; and are cried in your markets at high prices; yet an *Englishman*, sojourning in the United States, pronounces without hesitation, that they are far inferiour to the apples of his own country. An *Englishman*, not long since travelling in the State of *New York*, stopped at an inn in *Poughkeepsie*. Here he called for a beef steak; and at the same time complained bitterly, that he had not found a single good dish, of this kind, since he had been in *America*. The inn-keeper told him, that he would give him one: and going into the kitchen, ordered the cook to sprinkle the steak with sulphur. The *Englishman* pronounced it delicious.

This comparison occupies a great part of the conversation of your countrymen; and is regularly made with haughty airs, and in an imperious style; and, however pleasant to him, who makes it, is not apt to be very agreeable to others. Were we to receive it tamely, we should deserve the contempt, which you heap upon us with so much liberality.

Nor is this insolence exhibited to *us* only. Your treatment of other nations is seasoned with the same spicery. Wherever it exists, it is felt, resented, and remembered. The last *Englishman*, whom we have seen, has treated us in this manner: we expect the same treatment from the next; and are not often disappointed. *I never knew friends made by this conduct.* *Frenchmen*, known to possess scarcely a twentieth part of your honesty, and inferiour to you in every other respectable attribute, beside civility, will secure many friends, where you only make enemies.

How will you justify this imperious spirit, and behaviour? Look at the picture, which I have drawn of your character as a people, from your own books; and those, of unquestionable authority. Can you see in it any reasons even to palliate this insolence? The stains are numerous, and dark: while I cheerfully acknowledge the ground-work to be bright. The Saviour of mankind, when solicited by the *Pharisees* to condemn a miserable woman, apprehended in the commission of adultery, directed "him, who was without sin" among them, to cast the first stone at this culprit. When your nation has cleansed itself, it will be soon enough for you to stone others.

In spite of all your contempt, and of all your aspersions, the inhabitants of the *American* States will, in the ordinary course of Providence, become a numerous, and, permit me to say, a great and prosperous nation. Our advantages of situation, soil, and climate, of manners, laws, morals, and religion, are such, whatever *your Reviewers*, and *your Travellers*, may think concerning us, that we shall multiply, increase in strength, improve in arts and knowledge, and, I hope, advance in morals, to such a degree, as to compel other nations to respect us; even if we should continue to be hated and despised by *you*.

You will say, perhaps, that *our government is bad*. *Yours, during a great part of your national existence, has been worse*. You have made it, in your own opinion, the best in the world. Time may enable us to improve ours. You assert, that *our Rulers are weak and wicked*. You have had many such. We, as well as you, may at times have better. You censure us for our party spirit. Look at your own people, arrayed against each other under the banners of *York and Lancaster*; and pouring out the blood of

one hundred thousand men, to determine the important question, Whether the White, or the Red, Rose should prevail; and then remember, that in our party janglings not a life has hitherto been lost, except that of the brave General *Lingan*: a martyr to the violence of just such a mob, as you have often seen rolling through the streets of *London*. Even he was butchered by foreigners. There are many things, which disgrace, and distress, this country: but there is nothing which forbids a rational belief, that it may at no great distance of time, be peaceful, virtuous, and happy.

But there is another point of view, in which these attempts to establish alienation, and hostility, between you and us, are still more to be regretted. A great number of your people, with a spirit, in the highest degree honourable to themselves, and singularly glorious to your country, have begun, within a few years, to send throughout the world the Word of God, and Ministers to preach it. The progress, which they have made, is scarcely less astonishing than the rise, and the downfal of *Napoleon*; and has excited the admiration, and called forth the blessings, of good, and even of bad men, in every part of Christendom. Multitudes, in many countries, have cordially united themselves to these Benefactors of the world. In *this* country there are many Missionary, and at least sixty-five Bible Societies: and both are increasing in their numbers, and their efforts. All these are equally desirous to co-operate with your countrymen in this exalted design. To me, Sir, it seems unhappy, that any obstruction should be thrown in their way. Were you to ask Lord *Teignmouth*, Mr. *Wilberforce*, or many thousands of others, who adorn your country with intelligence and virtue, I am persuaded that they would answer you in similar terms. When it is remember-

ed, that the *English Language* is now established, to a considerable extent, in the four quarters of the globe, and in *New Holland* also, you will see that a foundation is laid for making it the means of communicating the knowledge of Christianity throughout the world. Those, who speak it, may, and, if wise, will, aid each other in the great work of spreading the Religion of the Gospel over the globe; and through this medium of communication will be enabled, with a facility otherwise unattainable, to spread salvation through all “the habitations of cruelty.” Men, willing to embark in such a design, and possessing advantageous means for accomplishing it, should never be hindered in their exertions: nor can any man be justified, who voluntarily throws obstructions in their way; or wantonly attempts to alienate them from each other.

It is high time, Sir, that a nobler spirit should be found in enlightened nations, as well as in enlightened individuals. Rivalry, contempt, and bitterness, have reigned long enough. These dispositions have never reformed either individuals or nations. Sometimes they may have checked insolence and abuse; but they never made a friend, nor conciliated an enemy. Candour and generosity achieve triumphs incomparably more numerous, and more honourable; and invest the temples of the victor with wreaths which cannot fade. Permit me to hope that the intelligent men of your nation will, in greater numbers, hereafter believe, that these are triumphs more deserving of their ambition; and laurels, which they may wear with superior and more enduring glory.



